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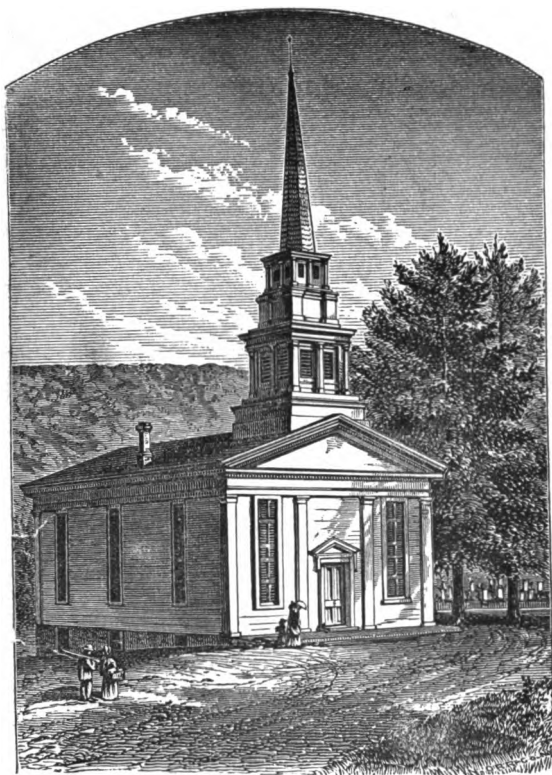


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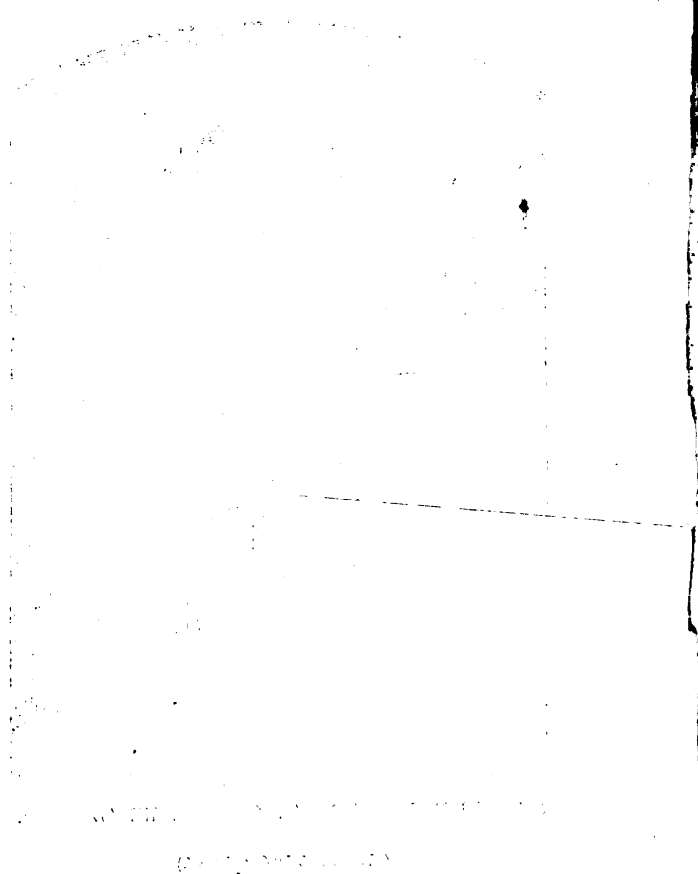
Naturalism

WYALUSING.



SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, WYALUSING.

(From Phot. by Sturdevant.)



*Compliments of
Edw. Wells*

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE

OF THE

WYALUSING

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

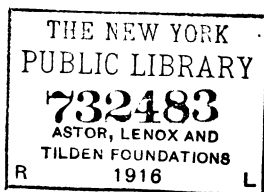
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PREFATORY NOTE.

This discourse was commenced without any idea of its publication. It was then intended to commemorate, as a member of a neighboring Presbytery, who knew something of its history, once observed, "some of the most remarkable instances of divine grace he had ever known," and added, "the history of the Wyalusing Church ought to be written that succeeding generations may know what God hath wrought." I am sensible that this sketch has but very imperfectly developed that idea, in fact I have been able to use only a part of the material I had gathered up, lest I should exceed the bounds I had prescribed to myself.

Since the discourse was first written, some foot notes have been added, and a brief history of the settlement and progress of the place appended. The account of the aboriginal tribes who inhabited the valley, and of the troubles between the *Pennamites* and *Yankee settlers* is easily accessible and has not been repeated. I sought accuracy, consulting where possible, original papers for names, facts and dates. For what is written of the Moravian Mission I am mainly indebted to Rev. E. DE SCHWEINITZ of Bethlehem, the biographer of DAVID ZEISBERGER; for other portions, to the records of the church, the histories of Wyoming, Mr. JUSTUS LEWIS of Merryall, and other old people; and to old papers containing obituary notices of the persons whose names have been mentioned.

To the members of my beloved congregation, who have encouraged and aided me in its publication, the reader is indebted for whatever of interest or instruction the discourse may afford.

D. C.

Wyalusing, Pa., January 1, 1870.

14.6
L. S. JAMES
EAMES
COLLECTION

DISCOURSE.

Matthews XI, 2.—*For by it (faith) the elders obtained a good report.*

The record of christian faith and labor found in the history of the church is both profitable and interesting. To preserve that history is a duty we owe to ourselves, to past generations and to posterity. The Holy Spirit has taught us this duty, from the fact that the Holy Scriptures are made up largely of narrative and biography. We assent to the duty in general, by gathering up with vast labor, the outlines of church history, but in the minor details of individual character and special fact we sadly neglect it. In gathering up the items of history of which this discourse is composed, my motive has been to recount the dealings of the Great Head of the church, who has promised to be with her until the end of time, both to attest the fulfillment of that promise and to encourage our faith in it, rather than glorify men. Every name here mentioned, with one voice would have declared "by the grace of God I am what I am," and it becomes us to magnify that grace, which so wrought in them, as to make them conspicuous examples of the faith and patience of the gospel. My only regret is that the limits which I have prescribed for myself in this discourse will prevent me from using all of the material which I have collected.

Wyalusing is eminently historic ground. For more than a century this place has been favored with the preaching of

Christ's glorious gospel, and the fruits of that preaching are now being enjoyed by the fourth generation of those, who through much sacrifice, established here the sanctuary of the Most High.

Near this place, and within the bounds of this congregation there was established a christian mission among the Indians early in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The founding of this mission is due to the labor and faith of the Moravians or United Brethren.

The Moravians are a people who never submitted to the authority of the Pope of Rome. Their home was among the Moravian hills on the south of Bohemia, from which they were expelled on account of their religion, in 1547. In the year 1627, at the council of Ostrorog, the Bohemian and Swiss churches were consolidated and took the name of the "church of the United Brethren." They are Episcopal in government, Calvinistic in doctrine, and hold, in a modified form, to a community of goods. They have been noted for their missionary zeal in preaching the gospel to the heathen. Early in the settlement of the country, (1742) they established themselves at Bethlehem, Pa., from whence they sent out their missionaries to all the adjacent country, whose labors were signally blest among the Indians.

A remarkable desire for the gospel awoke among the Indians, a clan of the Delawares, under the rule of the *Six Nations* at Wyalusing, or as it was called by the natives, Machiwhilusing, (meaning beautiful hunting ground,) in the year 1762, where PAPUNHANK, a false prophet, who had obtained some knowledge of christianity from the Delaware tribes, preached to them a sort of heathen morality. The Indians losing faith in PAPUNHANK, desired some better religious teachers. DAVID ZEISBERGER, known as the great

Moravian Apostle to the Indians, and a Delaware convert, named ANTHONY, responded to the call. They arrived at the Indian settlement on the 23d of May, and remained until the 26th, 1762, preaching Christ. Returning to Bethlehem, ZEISBERGER brought such a favorable report, as to induce the Brethren to appoint him resident missionary. In June, he came back to Machiwhilusing, and his labors were unusually blest of GOD. On the 26th he baptized PAPUNHANK, and there were good hopes of converting the whole clan; but PONTIAC'S war broke out, and on the 5th of July ZEISBERGER was obliged to leave. Nothing further could be done at the mission for the next three years.

After the conclusion of peace, ZEISBERGER led the remnant of Christian Indians, who had been sheltered in government barracks at Philadelphia, during the war, back to the Susquehanna, assisted by JOHN JACOB SCHMICK. They arrived at Machiwhilusing May 9, 1765, and began to found a christian town near the site of the heathen village. In October of the same year, the first baptism took place and a remarkable revival followed—Indians streaming together from every part and listening to the gospel. "It often happens," writes ZEISBERGER, "while I preach, that the power of the gospel takes such hold of the savages, that they tremble with emotion and shake with fear, until consciousness is nearly gone and they seem to be on the point of fainting."

The settlement, which received the name of *Friedenshuetten*, or tents of peace, from the synod of the church assembled at Bethlehem, May, 1766, was situated on that part of the farm of the Hon. L. P. STALFORD lying between the canal and the river, the main street of which was eighty feet wide running nearly east and west, about twenty-five to thirty rods south of the canal. The settlement numbered twenty-nine log houses,

with windows and chimneys, thirteen huts, a church thirty-two feet long by twenty-four feet wide, roofed with shingles, a school house and a mission house. Nearly every dwelling had a garden attached, and every household had a canoe on the river. The church stood in the center of the street near the east end of the town, about six rods east of STALFORD'S line, south of the church was the mission house, and on the opposite side of the street was the school house. Each lot had a front of thirty-two feet on the main street, and between every two lots was an alley ten feet broad. The whole area was surrounded by a post and rail fence, and every Saturday during the summer, was swept by the women with wooden brooms, and all of the rubbish removed, so that the town presented a neat and clean appearance. Between the town and the river were two hundred and fifty acres of plantations and meadows, on the west an orchard, and on the east a burying ground; and on their grounds were two miles of fences. The population numbered one hundred and fifty souls.

In September, 1766, ZEISBERGER left Friedenshuettten to labor elsewhere, and was succeeded by JOHN JACOB SCHMICK. In 1767 a larger church was built which was dedicated Feb. 18, 1768. This church had a bell, the first ever heard in this valley.

February 4, 1769, a second station was begun at Schoch-shiquanunk, (sometimes spelled Tschechshequanink) opposite the present Sheshequin under JOHN ROTHE, (RHODES).

On the 6th of September, 1771, ZEISBERGER came from the Ohio, and brought the converts an invitation from the Delaware chiefs of that country to settle there, which was accepted at a council held on that day.*

*The reasons which induced the Indians to leave Friedenshuettten were, First, The Iroquois, by the treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1763, sold to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, the land which they had formerly assigned to the Christian Indians. Second, Settlers from

On the 11th of June, 1772, the christian Indians emigrated from the Susquehanna to the Ohio—one hundred and fifty-one from Friedenshuetten and fifty-three from Schechschiquanunk—two hundred and four in all.† During the seven years which the mission existed, there were one hundred and eighty-six natives added to the church.

It is said that the Indians were very strongly attached to their beautiful home and left it with much sorrow. On the 6th of June they partook of the Holy communion for the last time at Friedenshuetten and with tears and prayers went forth to bid adieu forever to this pleasant valley and the graves of their fathers. Some of the company went by land to the West Branch, the others constructed rafts of the timbers of some of their houses and floated down the river to Northumberland, thence up the West Branch to the Big Island where they joined their companions. They then took their journey across the mountains, and after incredible hardships and sufferings reached the Alleghany river, down which they floated to the place of their destination.

The tract upon which the mission was situated was included in a subsequent grant made by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania to JOB CHILLAWAY, the chief of the clan. This grant included the best part of the "plains of Wyalusing," beginning at the Wyalusing creek, was nearly two miles long, and was considerably more than half a mile wide, and contained

Connecticut, claiming the land under a former Indian grant, were making preparations to seize their lands. Third, Traders and bad men would occasionally furnish the Indians with spirituous liquors which tended to their demoralization. Fourth, In the difficulties which were then pending between the colonies and the mother country, and which threatened to bring on a general Indian war, the Christian Indians wished to remain neutral, they were therefore suspected and endangered by both parties. For these reasons they felt compelled to remove further from the scenes of strife and from the bad influence of the whites.

†The whole company consisted of 241 persons.

nearly seven hundred acres. The warrant was issued to ORILLAWAY March 12, 1774, and was by him conveyed to HENRY PAWLING May 4, 1775, for \$2720. In 1796 PAWLING conveyed it, by will, to his daughter CATHERINE, the wife of JOSEPH STALMFORD (STALFORD). Subsequently the commissioners appointed to settle the land titles in Springfield township, assigned the upper half to Connecticut claimants, leaving to the STALFORDS only the part actually occupied by the Indians.

After the abandonment of the Indian mission of Friedensheuten, the first public christian worship held in this valley, was in the house of Mrs. LUCRETIA MINER YORK, under the direction of an old man whose name was BALDWIN, living near Browntown, in the latter part of year 1785. This old man and his wife, with Mrs. YORK, were the only religious persons at that time in this neighborhood. These two families agreed to meet every Sabbath for religious worship, and invited their neighbors to join them. The old man read a psalm and offered prayer, and Mrs. YORK's son, MANNASSAH MINER, read a selected sermon. The good effects of this service were soon apparent. Attendance upon the meetings became quite general, Sabbath profanation in a great measure ceased, and the good order and morals of the community greatly improved. Thus commenced in the wilderness, the public worship of Jehovah which has ever since been maintained in this valley, and though not ably, yet we trust, was acceptably conducted.

Of Mrs. YORK, who was the nursing mother to this church, and whose descendents have ever since formed a large portion of its membership, it may not be amiss to say a few words. LUCRETIA, daughter of MANASSAH MINER, was born in Stonington, Ct., Feb., 1730. The family is said to have belonged to the Royal house of Prussia, were strict Protestants, and pos-

essed of considerable wealth. In her eighteenth year she was married to AMOS YORK. Mr. MINER, having given his daughter a considerable tract of land near the mouth of the Wyalusing creek, in 1773 Mr. YORK moved his family to Wyoming, and the following spring moved up the river and settled upon his lands. The difficulties which culminated in the war of the Revolution, soon commenced, and Mr. YORK was known to be an ardent Whig.

On the 12th and 13th days of February, 1777, snow fell to an unusual depth. On the next morning, the 14th, Mr. YORK, while at a neighboring settlement, was captured by a band of Indians, hurried from his family, and marched to Canada. The journey was one of incredible hardship and suffering. Mr. YORK was subsequently exchanged, and arrived at his native place, in Connecticut, where he died nine days before his family reached there.

The helpless family—a mother and eight children, her son seven years of age and her youngest child only three weeks old, were thus left in the depth of winter, without protection, with but little clothing, bedding or provisions, the Indians having plundered them of most of their substance, in a land of strangers, and surrounded by enemies. They soon removed to the old Indian village, where several white families were then living, and the next spring went down the river to Wyoming. She was present at the terrible battle which was fought there, in which her son-in-law, Capt. AHOLIAS BUCK, was killed, leaving her widowed daughter with an infant four months old. As soon as it was safe to do so, she set out with her son, eight daughters and her orphan grandchild, for her home in Connecticut. In the year 1785 she returned to Wyalusing, where she resided until her death, October 30, 1818, in the 88th year of her age, respected and beloved by a large circle of relative,

and acquaintances. She was a woman of remarkable energy, deep piety, and ardently attached to the doctrines of the church, and ever manifested, even to her dying day, the warmest interest in its welfare.

In the years from 1786 to 1798 several pious families settled in the neighborhood. The Rev. IRA CONDIT visited them occasionally as a missionary, and on the 30th day of June, 1793, organized the first Presbyterian church, in the whole valley drained by the North Branch of the Susquehanna.* The meeting was held in a log school house which stood very near the place where this church now stands. The organization consisted of thirteen members, whose names are as follows: Uriah Terry, Lucretia York, Justus Gaylord, Jr., and Lucretia his wife, Zachariah Price, and Ruth his wife, Mary Lewis, Abigail Wells, Sarah Rockwell, Anna Camp, James Lake, Thomas Oviatt, and Hannah Beckwith. Uriah Terry was at the same time ordained and installed Ruling Elder.

Of those ever to be remembered thirteen, who that day entered into covenant with each other, to walk together as christians, it will be proper to say a few words. Of LUCRETIA YORK I have already spoken. URIAH TERRY was born on Long Island, nearly opposite New London, Connecticut, Oct., 1728. His first wife was ABIGAIL CASE. Their oldest daughter, ABIGAIL, married JONATHAN, son of PARSHALL TERRY, and were the first permanent white settlers in Terrytown. URIAH TERRY was at Forty Fort at the time of the battle, after which he went to Orange county, N.Y. He returned to the Wyoming valley after the war and came to Wyalusing in 1790. Soon after, he moved to Terrytown, where he died, June 29, 1804. He was a man of good education for those

*This was the first organisation of any kind in the County, of which there is any record, so far as I know.

times, and of superior talents. He wrote several pieces of poetry of decided merit, one of which, the *Battle of Wyoming*, has a place in *MYNER'S History*, and a dialogue on Election in which there is a clear statement of the doctrine, and ingenious replies to the ordinary objections to it. He was, so far as I can learn, the first school teacher in *Wyalusing*. The school was commenced in the house of Major *GAYLORD*, and was removed to the school house in which the church was organized, when it was completed. He was a man of mark and influence in the little community gathered here, and left a name which is dearly cherished by his descendants. He was a man of faith and prayer, and though the latter part of his life was clouded by domestic troubles, he maintained a good christian character, steadfast unto the end.

The name of *JUSTUS GAYLORD, Jr.*, or as he was commonly called *Major GAYLORD*, stands next on the roll of the members of this church. The father of *JUSTUS GAYLORD*, *SAMUEL GAYLORD*, was one of three brothers who came from England at an early day, and settled in *Litchfield county, Connecticut*. The family is of French origin, but the period of their emigration to England, or the causes which led to it, I have been unable to learn. *JUSTUS* was born *Mar. 12, 1732*. The brothers engaged in the iron business. *JUSTUS* was the blacksmith, and is said to have forged from a piece of steel, the first saw made in the country. Failing in the business of iron working, he purchased a farm and engaged in agriculture. At the commencement of the war of the Revolution, he with four of his sons entered the continental army and remained in it until the close of the war. He served without pay and lived without pension. About the year 1793, he came to *Black Walnut, Wyoming county*, and lived on what is now known as the *Sterling place*. The next year, (1794) he and his wife united

with this church, and in the same year he was elected elder, which office he held until his removal from the country. In 1814, his wife having died, and his son ELIHU, with whom he had been living, having gone further west, he came to Wyalusing, and remained here about two years, when he went to Delaware county, Ohio, where he died in 1720, at nearly eighty-eight years of age. His son JUSTUS, was born in Connecticut in the year 1757. He married a Miss GARNER, who died before he left the State. He enlisted in the company of Capt. RANSOM, and served during the war. He formed one of the company sent for the relief of Fort Mifflin, and arrived there a few days after the terrible battle. He was afterwards a scout in SULLIVAN'S army which was sent to drive the Indians out of the valley. While on that expedition, he saw for the first time the beautiful lands of the Wyalusing, and after the close of the war, came up and purchased the lands on the north side of the creek, now occupied by some of his descendants.

He married LUCRETIA, widow of Capt. ABOLIAH BUCK, and oldest daughter of LUCRETIA YORK. He was one of the founders of this church, and all through life was regarded as one of its strongest supporters. He was chosen one of its deacons in 1795. He was a man of high christian principles, ardently attached to the church, and bore a name and character above reproach. He died in Wyalusing, May 23, 1830, at the age of 73 years.

His wife survived him nearly sixteen years. She died January 15, 1846, aged eighty-seven years, nine months, and fifteen days. She was a superior woman, of great energy and industry, and of decided firmness of character.

The house of Major GAYLORD was for years the central point of religious interest at Wyalusing. The school was

taught there, there was the place of religious meetings, and the home of the minister. Mr. MINER, in his personal remembrances appended to the history of Wyoming, says: "The author waited upon Mrs. J. June 25, 1845, and found the good old lady in fine health and spirits. The profusion of lace upon her cap speaking of habitual fondness for dress, her round full face and cheerful smile indicating, in early life, remarkable personal beauty. She had walked up a mile to visit Mrs. TAYLOR, wife of Major JOHN TAYLOR, her daughter who was on her nursing bosom in July, 1778." This was in June preceeding her death.

MARY (TURNIL) LEWIS, was born in Litchfield county, Connecticut, March 1, 1748. She was married to THOMAS LEWIS May 20, 1768. Mr. LEWIS came to Wyalusing in 1786, and having made some arrangements for the comfort of his family brought them here the next year. They lived for a time in a log house a few rods south of this place, and between the present road and the river. Here their son JUSTUS was born August 24, 1787, to whom I am indebted for many of the incidents mentioned in this discourse. Mrs. LEWIS is spoken of as a very superior woman. She encountered the trials, privation and dangers of pioneer life without a murmur or complaint. She impressed her character upon her household, and faithfully trained her children in the knowledge of the Scriptures. Such was her influence in her family, that her husband, though never a member of the church, regularly maintained family worship morning and evening. She loved the church of God. When she became helpless through infirmity, her sons lovingly bore her to the place of worship, where she delighted to go. On the 23d of January, 1813, she was numbered with the sainted dead, leaving a name perfumed with many a christian grace, to be held in everlasting remembrance by her posterity and the church of God.

ANNA, daughter of SAMUEL OVIATT, was born in Litchfield county, Connecticut, January 27, 1749, and was married to JOB CAMP, February 22, 1778. He came to Wyalusing in 1792, and planted a piece of corn, and returned to Connecticut after he had harvested it. The following spring he moved his family here and settled five miles up the Wyalusing creek in the present village of Camptown, when the country was an unbroken wilderness, and there he lived until his death, January 17, 1822. His wife was a faithful, earnest, christian woman, who trained her large family in the nurture and admonition of the gospel. She fell on sleep, November 19, 1825.

ABIGAIL WELLS, the sister of Mrs. LEWIS and wife of deacon RYNDIN WELLS, came with her family into the place at an early day. They were among the pioneers in the settlement up the Wyalusing. She was a devoted woman, and had the satisfaction of seeing her husband profess the religion she loved, and become an honored officer in the infant church, which position he adorned by a consistent christian walk and conversation, commanding his household after him.

The other founders of this church either soon removed, or lived at such a distance from this place, that I have been unable to learn that their influence was markedly felt in the development of the religious interest which centered here. So far as I can learn, all of them exemplified the doctrine of God their Savior, by blameless lives and a godly conversation. In the midst of many trials, through many difficulties, and at much self-sacrifice, they joined their brethren in their sabbath worship, and with them toiled and prayed for the prosperity of the Zion they loved.

In the next year 1794, the church was visited by the Rev. N. JUDD, who is said to have been a man of commanding person, engaging manners, and a pleasing speaker. On the 17th

of August in this year, ten persons were added to the church, namely: Justus Gaylord and Elizabeth his wife, John Taylor and his wife Deborah, Daniel Turrill and Temperance his wife, M. Miner York, Berintha Buck, Parshall Terry, and Reubin Wells.

Of JUSTUS GAYLORD I have already spoken.

JOHN TAYLOR, or as he was frequently called, Major TAYLOR, was born in Powell's Valley, Dauphin county, Pa., January 7, 1770. He was of Irish descent, his grandfather having left Ireland to escape the persecutions to which the Presbyterians were exposed. He came to Wyalusing in 1793. On the 16th of May, 1794, he was married to Miss DEBORAH BUCK, daughter of Captain AHOLIAH BUCK, and granddaughter of Mrs. LUCRETIA YORK. The next year after his union with the church, he was chosen deacon, and in 1831 elected Ruling Elder, which office he held until his death. He was also the church clerk for more than forty years. He was a model of energy, punctuality, uprightness, fortitude and christian integrity, and in connection with JUSTUS GAYLORD, Jr., was mainly instrumental in maintaining here the ordinances of religion. In his daily deportment he exemplified the doctrine of Christ, whom he loved, for whom he labored, and in an unshaken faith in whom, he died October 17, 1855, at the age of 85 years.

His wife, DEBORAH, was born at Forty Fort, (Wyoming,) Luzerne county, Pa., March 25, 1778; a little more than three months before that far-famed battle, in which her father was slain. Her widowed mother fled with her over the mountains after the battle to Connecticut. She returned with the family in 1785. Born amidst the tumult of war, subject to the exposures and hardships which attended the fugitives from the Valley, trained subsequently in the severe school of pioneer

life, and by the spirit of Divine Grace, she endured hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ and ever exhibited an earnest zeal for her Master. For more than sixty years she was the partner of her husband's toils and united with him in dispensing a generous hospitality to all who loved the name of Christ. She died in the 78th year of her age, September 26, 1855, leaving a numerous posterity to rise up and call her name and memory blessed.

PARSHALL TERRY, a cousin of URIAH TERRY, was born near New London, Connecticut, August 8, 1734. He and his brother NATHANIEL were among the one hundred and seventeen Connecticut settlers who came to Wyoming in 1763. Wyoming suffered from the Indian troubles which then existed, known as Pontiac's War, and his brother NATHANIEL was shot* by an Indian, October 15, 1763, when PARSHALL soon after made his way back to Connecticut, which journey he made no less than twenty times. PARSHALL was also in Wyoming in 1773, and was made one of the directors for the town of Kingston, under the plan of government adopted by the Susquehanna Company. He participated in that fatal engagement in the afternoon of the 2nd of July, 1778,† and

* As illustrating the perils to which the early settlers were exposed, and their many hair-breadth escapes, the incident may be narrated, as I have it from the most reliable authority. As NATHANIEL and PARSHALL were going to their cabin for dinner, NATHANIEL seeing the Indian just ready to shoot his brother, called out, "PARSHALL! the Indians!" The savage immediately fired at NATHANIEL and killed him; but PARSHALL, who was unarmed, dropped down in the grass. The Indian searched for him a long time, frequently coming within a few feet of him, but did not find him. PARSHALL subsequently saw this same Indian and heard him relate the incident, in which he said, "That he didn't know what became of that other Yankee, but he must have jumped in the river and drowned himself, or else the Devil took him, for he was sure that if he had been anywhere about where he saw him, he would have found him."

† One writer has alleged that PARSHALL TERRY, JR., who was a royalist, killed his father and all his family after the battle. This of course is a mistake. In justice to the man it ought to be said that between him and the rest of the family there were only political differences. After the capitulation he came into the fort and embraced his parents,

afterward, with other fugitives, made his way over the mountain and through the "shades of Death," to the Delaware river. Leaving his family at Stroudsburg, he went east to obtain assistance to remove them to a place of safety. Here his wife died and was buried. On his return he took his children, one an infant, to Sugar Loaf, near Newburg, N. Y., where he remained until the close of the war; when he returned to his farm in Wyoming, which he afterward sold to OLIVER PETTIBONE. He came up the river to Wyalusing about 1790, and soon after went over to Terrytown. While he lived there, religious meetings on that side of the river were usually held at his house. In 1808 he went to Palmyra, N. Y., where he died, May 15, 1811, aged 76 years, 9 months and 7 days. In 1795 he was elected an elder in the church, which office he held until his removal to New York. He was an active man, of good judgment, grave deportment, and genial temper. As an office-bearer he was faithful and efficient, and as a christian humble and devout. Nearly all of his family left this region, except DEMORAH, of whom mention will be made further on.

MANASSAH MINER YORK, the only son of AMOS and LUCRETIA YORK, who survived infancy, was born at Stonington, Ct., October, 1767. After the death of his father, when the son was but 11 years old, he was compelled to endure many hardships and privations. In early life he showed a great fondness for reading and from 1785 to 1793 was mainly depended upon to read the sermon at religious worship when no minister was present. In the fall of 1792 he married Miss BETSY ARNOLD. In 1808 he commenced his studies for the christian ministry under Rev. ARD HOYT, and completed them under

brothers and sisters, with the warmest affection, protected them to the extent of his ability, and parted with them with deep emotion, sorrow on their part being heightened by his misguided zeal.

Rev. JOEL T. BENEDET, of Catskill, and was licensed to preach the gospel in 1809. On the 23d of September of that year, he commenced his labors at Wyalusing and was ordained in the October following by Rev. Messrs. HOYT and BENEDET. Mr. YORK continued to preach at Wyalusing until 1818. From here he went to Trumansburg and returned in 1825. He died in Wysox, Jan. 2, 1830, in the sixty-third year of his age. Mr. YORK was abundant in labors. He wrought with his hands, taught school, preached through all this section of country not only on the Sabbath, but through the week, gathered the children for catechetical instruction, and older persons for bible study, and as the fruit of his toil many were added to the church.

At this time he occupied an extensive field, preaching regularly at Towanda, Wysox, Wyalusing and Black Walnut, and occasionally at out stations. What he endured in the prosecution of his work, we at this day can hardly imagine, and what are the fruits of these labors eternity alone can reveal. His name is still spoken with respect and veneration and his memory is blessed.

In 1795 the Rev. Daniel Thatcher visited the church, and the record shows that they contributed for him \$4.06, an amount, though small in itself, was large when we take into the account the means of its members and the small amount of money in circulation among them. Isolated by many miles of dense forests from older settlements, with but few implements of agriculture, living in log houses in an uncleared county, none being able to cultivate but a few acres of land, and having but just enough provisions to subsist on, the only wonder is how they could have given so much. At this time the meetings were held in the old school house where the church was organized, and though several of the members lived some

miles distant, with only foot-paths through the woods to their dwellings, none having wagons and but few having horses, yet it was seldom that one was absent from the appointed place of worship. I have sometimes thought, when hearing the frivolous excuses, which now-a-days are frequently made for absence from the sanctuary, what stinging rebukes the examples of these self-sacrificing followers of Christ administer to their degenerate offspring.

Among the additions to the church at this time were DEBORAH HORTON, URANIA STALFORD and ZERUAH LACEY. Of these three godly women, each is worthy of more than a passing notice. DEBORAH HORTON, daughter of PARSHALL TERRY, was born in Little Britain, Orange county, New York, in 1767. In her early childhood she lived for several years with the family of her father in Wyoming Valley, and was one of the inmates of the famed Forty Fort during the afternoon and evening of the terrible battle and massacre, and though at the time but eleven years of age, yet to the day of her death these awful scenes were vividly impressed upon her memory, and she could never speak of them without tears. Early the next morning she, with the rest of the family, started on their way to Orange county, New York. Here she was married to JOHN HORTON, in 1788. She followed her father to the Wyoming Valley in 1784, and in 1792 came to Terrytown. Here she spent the remainder of her life, which closed on the 25th of May, 1844, at the age of 77 years. She was an energetic, spirited woman, and her industry and perseverance knew no bounds. She was emphatically the guide of her house and deeply impressed her character upon her household. She was eminently devout, often rising at 3 o'clock in the morning for the purpose of reading her bible, and other devotional works, or in quiet meditation and prayer, before beginning the duties of the day. In her neighborhood and among her children her

name and example are mentioned with the loving respect which only a truly christian character can inspire. Though called to pass through many afflictions, she endured them with christian fortitude and resignation, and when her life's duties and sufferings were over, peacefully committed herself to her covenant-keeping Saviour, who was able to keep that which she had committed to Him against the day of his final appearing.

URANIA (TURBIL) STALFORD was born in Kent county, Ct., in 1786. At the age of nineteen, in 1805, she came into Susquehanna county and taught school. The next year she was married to Mr. CYRIL PECK, who died a little more than two years after. In 1810 she was married to BENJAMIN STALFORD and became a permanent resident within the bounds of this congregation, and where she died the 14th of June, 1868. She was eminently a godly woman. She survived both husbands, and three sons grown to manhood. Her afflictions seemed sanctified to her spiritual good and she was able to bear them in patience, with resignation and assurance that the Master knew best what was for her good. Her piety was of that quiet and unobtrusive type which did not so immediately strike the stranger as it impressed itself upon all who were associated with her, and especially those of her own family. No one could long be a member of her household without feeling its hallowed influence. Her christian walk and deportment were known to all. She was a woman of great industry and prudence and she manifested these qualities in all of her christian life. She was ever ready to speak a loving word for her Saviour, or do an act which would lead others to think of him. Her death was quiet, peaceful, triumphant; without ecstasy and without fear. A few days before her departure she called her pastor to her bedside and named the text which

had been the key-note to her life, as the one from which she wished her funeral sermon to be preached: "Come unto me all ye who are weary and heavy laden and I will give you rest."

The last in this trio of noble women was ZERUAH LACEY, wife of EBENEZER LACEY, and a daughter of AMOS NORTHUP. She was born in Connecticut, Feb. 1, 1789. For a time she lived near Rush, Susquehanna county. In 1807 she came to Laceyville, where she married EBENEZER LACEY, June 5, 1809. She, too, was a very devoted, pious woman and warmly attached to the church of which she was a member. Although her lot was cast in a community where there were but few Presbyterians, she was unshaken in her faith. No one ever doubted the sincerity of her profession, or knowing her, could fail to observe her christian walk. She was of a cheerful disposition and her piety was of the same delightful character. Living as she did, far from the church of which she was a member, she was unable, especially in the latter years of life, to be present at its meetings as often as she wished, but she always rejoiced to learn of its prosperity. She abounded in hospitality and her house was always open to the minister of Christ's gospel. She died March 1, 1869, at the age of four score years. As she lived unto the Lord, so she died unto the Lord and rested in his embrace. Of all these it may be said:

Sweet is the savor of their names,
And blest their dying breath.

In 1806 Rev. DANIEL BUCK commenced preaching for the church one-fourth of the time. About this time the families of NATHAN and ADEN STEVENS came into the country and settled several miles up the Wyalusing creek and the meetings were held alternately at Merryall and Wyalusing. During the three years which Mr. BUCK remained with the church it

enjoyed great prosperity, having received into its membership nearly forty persons, the most of whom were by profession of their faith.

In 1809 Mr. YORK, having been licensed to preach the gospel, and being an ardent admirer of Congregationalism, the church was induced to assume that form of church government. This change was made the more easily from the fact that most of the settlers here were from Connecticut, holding their land under Connecticut titles, were in frequent correspondence with their friends at home, and were by education familiar with Congregational usage. Then there were no Presbyterian churches near with which this could affiliate; also the Congregational churches of that day usually adhered strictly to the Westminster standards. In fact, this church always maintained its adherence to those standards firm unto the end.

Accordingly, on the 23d of September, 1809, the church assumed the Congregational form of government. At this meeting Mr. YORK was called to be pastor of the church and was ordained and settled the 27th of October following, and in 1811, the church having adopted the constitution of the Luzerne Association, became a part of that body. During the nine years which Mr. YORK remained with the church it continued to enjoy a large measure of prosperity, and every year witnessed additions to its membership. After Mr. YORK left, there was no stated preaching for several years. Rev. SALMON KING and EBENEZER KINGSBURY were occasionally present and administered the sacrament. In 1826 the church was visited by a committee of Presbytery and initiatory steps were taken which ultimately resulted in the church becoming Presbyterian again. As the Valley of the Wyandoting had become more thickly settled the meetings were most frequently

held in the school house at Merryall. As this became too strait for the increasing congregations which assembled there (for in those days they came from Stevensville, Wyalusing and Terrytown), the question of having a more suitable house of worship had been frequently discussed, and after a great deal of exertion a subscription sufficient to warrant the undertaking was raised, and Mr. JUSTUS LEWIS agreed to build the house, which was commenced in 1828 and dedicated nearly three years afterward. As showing something of the difficulty with which such an undertaking was carried on in those days, Mr. LEWIS says that on that subscription he did not receive one dollar in money, but took grain, produce, lumber, or whatever the people could spare, to the amount which had been subscribed. In 1830 Rev. SIMON R. JONES commenced preaching for the church and continued for nearly two years. He is said to have been a very kind-hearted man and a fluent preacher.

In 1831 (March 31), the church having had under consideration for some time the subject of changing its ecclesiastical connexion, unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we unitedly agree to become a Presbyterian church."

This resolution was signed by twenty-six persons—just double the original number with which the church was first organized. Although nearly one hundred had been added to the church on profession and several by letter. Of these some had died, two or three had been excommunicated, some had moved out of the county, and others had been dismissed to form adjacent churches. On the 7th April the church called Mr. GEORGE PRINTZ to the pastorate, and on the 28th of June following the Presbytery of Susquehanna met with the church. This is the first meeting of Presbytery at Wyalusing of which

there is any record. At this meeting Aden Stevens, John Taylor, William Bradshaw, Hiram Stevens and Chester Wells were ordained Ruling Elders. Mr. PRINTZ was ordained and installed pastor of the churches of Wyalusing and Braintrim, serving the latter church one-fourth of the time, and the recently completed church edifice at Merryall "was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God." Thus Presbyterianism was again established in this valley, and the church, entering its new house, under the stated services of its pastor enjoyed several years of uninterrupted prosperity and increased in numbers and influence. The session of the church at once commenced making regular contributions to the benevolent operations of the church, which have been continued to the present. 1884 was a year memorable in the history of the Presbyterian church. The whole church was rent with fierce discussion of those questions which finally led to the disruption, which efforts have been made to heal, and the union of the two bodies has been just consummated. This church, true to her sincere attachment to her time-honored standards of christian doctrine, unanimously adopted the "act and testimony" and ranged herself with the Old School party. It may be well for us at this day to be reminded of the testimony which the fathers bore on this subject. They say:

"Whereas, we believe that truth is in order to godliness, and the Scriptures say 'first pure and then peaceable,' and we believe that the effort which is made in the Presbyterian church to cry peace when there is none, only tends to *increase dissention and error*, which facts have already proved; and we are moreover satisfied on sufficient grounds that our late General Assembly acted contrary to the spirit of the constitution of our church, and by their acts have encouraged the spread of various errors already taught under her name; therefore, resolved," &c.

Here follow the resolutions adopting the "Act and Testimony," condemning the formation of Synods and Presbyteries on the plan of elective affinity, and the dividing of Presbyteries on the same plan, contrary to the wish of the Synods within whose bounds they are found. All honor to these fathers in the church, who thus fearlessly bore their testimony against prevailing errors, who, when the enemy came in like a flood, could lift up the standard of a pure gospel against him. Instead of, as some are anxious to do, blotting out this record of their faithfulness to truth, I would write it in letters of gold on the doors of every Old School church in the land, that it might be held in everlasting remembrance by all who come after them.

On the second Sabbath in December, 1839, the church observed with deep interest the semi-centenary anniversary of the formation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. At this jubilee meeting \$30 were raised for the Boards of the Church.

In 1836 the anti-slavery discussion commenced in this community. The question assumed more of a religious than political character. The inherent sin of slavery, the duty of the church in regard to it, were topics of debate in school houses and neighborhoods, through all this part of the country. In this conflict GEORGE and WILLIAM GAMBLE, Dr. HORTON, and some other members of the church, were earnest and active. Mr. PRINZ, while deprecating slavery, was in favor of colonization and opposed to the discussion at first, but finally allowed himself to be drawn into it. The church was thus rent into opposing factions and the whole community thrown into a fever of excitement. While this excitement was at its height, Mr. PRINZ attempted, as a last resort, to discipline WILLIAM GAMBLE, for using harsh words towards his pastor.

After several meetings of the session, the parties being unable to settle their difficulties, Mr. GAMBLE denied the authority of the church to try him, left the meeting, and his name, without further process, was stricken from the roll. Shortly after this (Oct. 1, 1842); a portion of the anti-slavery party requested letters of dismission for the purpose of forming a new Presbyterian church, which they contemplated placing under the control of another Presbytery. Owing to some misunderstanding between them and the pastor, the church was formed before the letters had been granted, and thus, without any intention on their part, their action seemed somewhat irregular. This church maintained an existence for several years, but at length the most of its members who remained in the vicinity became connected with the Presbyterian church of Herrick, or that of Terrytown. In regard to this rupture in the church, blame attaches to both parties. They imagined their differences to be greater than they really were. Some of the anti-slavery party were too denunciatory in their language, uncharitable and schismatic in their conduct. On the other hand, Mr. PRINTZ was of strong prejudices, and was unwise in entering into a public debate with his own church members when the differences with some of them had already become personal and the subject enlisted so much feeling, and then for proceeding to discipline his leading opponent when the church was stirred with such a turmoil of excitement. On account of these differences Mr. PRINTZ' usefulness as the pastor of the church was largely diminished, and the next year he resigned the charge and left the bounds of the Presbytery. With whatever faults he may have had, he was an able minister, a good pastor, an exemplary christian, and endured hardness, both in labors and privations, for Christ's sake and the gospel's. Notwithstanding the troublesome times in which he ministered, the church increased under his ministrations, both in numbers and influence.

On the 8th of December, 1843, the congregation invited the Rev. S. F. COLT to become their pastor, which invitation he accepted and commenced his labors with the church the beginning of the next year. In the early part of Mr. COLT's pastorate, considerable religious interest was manifested in the congregation, and at the communion, April 7, 1844, eighteen persons were added to the church. During this year, the Parsonage for the church was commenced at Merrypall, and after much exertion, was completed at an expense of \$850. Mr. COLT served the church acceptably for about ten years, when, at the request of Presbytery, he resigned the pastorate to take charge of the Susquehanna Collegiate Institute, an institution under the care of the Presbytery, and which was erected mainly through Mr. COLT's efforts. At this time the members of the church were scattered over a large extent of territory, and it was Mr. COLT's policy to gather them together in their several neighborhoods for religious worship, preparatory for separate church organizations. In this way were laid the foundations of the churches of Herrick, Stevensville, Meshoppen, Rush and Wyalusing 2nd, which were organized about the time or soon after Mr. COLT left Wyalusing.

On the 12th of January, 1854, a committee of Presbytery raised in answer to a petition of several members of the old church and some others, met in the school house near by this spot and organized the 2nd Presbyterian church of Wyalusing. Thus within the reach of the sound of our worship in this sanctuary, is the birth-place of two Presbyterian churches, which have exercised a marked influence on the religious interests of the people of this valley, and which we trust are to do good work for the cause of the Master. The 2nd church was constituted with the following named persons: John R. Welles, Mary A. Welles, Ellen J. Welles, William H. Welles,

Deborah A. Stalford, A. F. Eastman, H. S. Clark, Henry Gaylord, Martha Gaylord, Lorinda H. Gaylord, Gustavus A. Gaylord, Urania Stalford, Joel Stalford, Nathan Stalford, Lydia Stalford, Mary E. Ingham, Deborah E. Ingham, Moses Eilenberger and Elizabeth his wife, James Gamble and his wife Isabel, William Gamble and his wife Irene, and Elizabeth Gamble, N. N. Gamble, Abigail T. Gamble, and Deborah H. Gamble, in all twenty-seven persons. Of these, the greater part remain until this present, but some are fallen asleep. John R. Welles, Henry Gaylord and William Gamble were ordained elders, and Rev. John White was the stated supply of the church until the spring of 1857. During Mr. White's stay here nine persons were added to the church, most of them by letter from churches. The erection of this building was commenced before the church was organized, and was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God the next year.

In the winter of 1857, the congregation called Rev. Thomas S. Dewing to become the pastor of the church. He accepted the call and commenced his labors here in the month of January following, when he was installed pastor by a committee of Presbytery. Mr. Dewing remained pastor until Aug. 31, 1861. During his pastorate six were received by letter and one by profession, six were dismissed and one died, leaving a total membership of thirty-five persons.

On the first Sabbath in September of the same year, the present pastor began preaching in the church on Sabbath morning, and at Fairbanks, Terrytown and Sugar Run on alternate Sabbath afternoons. On the 11th of April, 1862, Jesse T. Stalford was elected elder in the church and on the 19th of May following J. W. Hollenback and wife were dismissed to the church of Wilkes-Barre. On the 11th of Oct. the members residing on the other side of the river, eleven in

number, were dismissed to form the church of Terrytown which was organized by a committee of Presbytery, on the 15th of the same month. On the 16th of January, 1866, the congregation, in connection with the church of Terrytown, called their stated supply to become their pastor, and he was installed by a committee of Presbytery, over this church, the 28th of February following, and the next evening installed pastor of the Terrytown church. The Terrytown church requiring his services every Sabbath afternoon compelled the abandonment of the station at Fairbanks. The winter of 1866 will long be remembered by the churches in this Presbytery, as a season of the gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The revival visited both Wyalusing and Terrytown. At the latter place it was the most extensive and powerful religious awakening ever known there. As the fruits of that revival in April there were added to this church sixteen persons, and to the church of Terrytown eight. This community was also visited last winter with a season of deep religious interest, and last April (1869), eleven were added to the church. The whole number added by profession since September, 1861, until the present has been thirty-one, by letter five, making a total of thirty-six, one more than the whole number of members when I commenced preaching here. During the same time, there have been dismissed to join other churches, sixteen, and there have died five, making a loss of twenty-one, leaving a net gain in membership of fifteen. If in this we include the church of Terrytown, which formed a part of this church when I was settled here, the net gain is forty-three. To-day, therefore, we can record our vows of hearty thanksgiving to the Lord for his great goodness, and say surely the Lord hath been mindful of his people, and hath not forsaken the heritage which he hath chosen.

During the eight years which I have been with you, I have

sought as well as I have been able, to do with diligence the work of my Master. In that time I have preached to the different stations 1104 sermons, married 39 couple, and preached 61 funerals, besides attending numerous calls outside the bounds of my field, which have not been included in this enumeration, and the field of labor has greatly increased in extent and instead of four places for preaching there are now ten, some of which are supplied by week night appointments.

As a fit conclusion to this discourse, I shall give some brief sketches of those who were members of this church, but have been called to their rest. First in this list may be mentioned the name of DANIEL BROWN. He was born in Quaker Hill, Connecticut, September 7, 1771. At an early day the family came to Wyoming, and several of them were participators in that memorable battle in 1787. The family came up the valley soon after Sullivan's campaign, and in 1778 moved over into Browntown. In 1795 Daniel was married to Mary Wigdon, grand-daughter of Justus Gaylord. In 1824 he united with the church at Merryall, and August 4, 1858, was received by letter into this church. He died March 3, 1859, in the 88th year of his age, leaving a numerous family to cherish his memory. He was a supporter of the gospel, and the fast friend of religion, quiet, patient and unobtrusive in his conduct.

GUSTAVUS A., oldest son of Henry and Patty Gaylord, was born in Wyalusing, January 26, 1829. He made a profession of religion March 30, 1843, and formed one of the original members of this church at its organization. Going west he died of cholera at New Boston, Iowa, May 4, 1855. He was a young man of good talents, of great energy, and unblemished character, and his loss was deeply felt as well by the church as by his own family to whom he was endeared by many a

christian and social virtue. His sister JULIETTE was born at Wyalusing, May 10, 1835, and became a member of this church July 12, 1856. In January 29, 1857, she was married to Truman I. Lacey, and died November 11, 1858.

Thus early in its history was this little band thinned by death, and its membership transferred to the great company of the faithful in heaven, for which the church on earth was designed to prepare us.

JOEL, son of Benjamin and Urania Stalford, was born Dec. 2, 1816. Made a profession of religion June 15, 1843, married Minerva Pickett, September, 1858, and suddenly died on the morning of the 2nd of April, 1866. He was a very quiet diffident man, of good reputation and faithful in the discharge of christian duties.

His brother NATHAN was born January 10, 1816, and united with the church at the same time with Joel. After a long and peculiarly painful illness, (a scrofulous irruption,) he entered into rest November 16, 1866. As a member of the church he was faithful in his duties; no storm was so severe that it kept him from the accustomed place of meeting. He loved the church with a peculiar affection, and rested in the promises of his Redeemer with a confiding reliance, which nothing was able to shake. The anchor of his hope was cast in no uncertain ocean. Many of us are the witnesses of that patient, I had almost said heroic, resignation with which he endured the pain and suffering of those long months of bitter agony, a resignation which nothing but an unshaken faith in the Savior could sustain.

DEBORAH A., daughter of John P. and Lydia Stalford, was born in Wyalusing, October 15, 1828. June 15, 1842, she made a profession of faith and united with the church, and subsequently was one of the members of this church at its organi-

zation. May 10, 1861, she was married to John Hollenback. August 20, 1861, she was dismissed to unite with the church at Newark, Ohio, whither she had removed immediately after her marriage, and where she died June 15, 1863. She fulfilled the duties of a professed christian, a daughter, wife and mother, with a loving fidelity, and having served in her allotted place with diligence entered into rest.

WILLIAM, son of Charles F. and Ellen J. Welles, was born at Wyalusing, May 8, 1829. On the 7th of July, 1844, he united with the old church, and afterward connected himself with this. In 1857 he was married to Miss Frances, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Smith, of South Creek, Pa. Having removed to Columbia X Roads, he was dismissed to the Troy church in 1859. He fell asleep in Jesus, April 14, 1860. His life was a beautiful exemplification of christian virtue and faithfulness. Benevolent, genial, earnest, and strong in his attachment to Christ, he commanded the respect of and endeared himself to all with whom he came in contact. "The savor of his name" is still fragrant throughout this whole community.

ANNA E., daughter of Eli Beard and wife of John Welles Hollenback, was born in Towanda, Bradford county, July 18, 1835, and was received by letter from the church of Williamsburg, July 12, 1856, and with her husband was dismissed to the church at Wilkes-Barre, May 19, 1863, where she died September 11, 1864. The natural grace of her mind was refined and beautified by the holier graces of the spirit, which combined to form a character of rare loveliness and beauty. Her family and friends, the church of Christ, the poor and the sick all had a place in her heart. Those who have read "Little Walter of Wyalusing," a sketch by her oldest son, will understand something of the rare excellence of the moth-

er, to whom much of his training was necessarily committed. An ancient proverb says, "they who are born fairest die soonest," so she early in life faded away,

As from the sky, serene and far,
A voice fell, like a falling star,
Excelsior, with Jesus.

JANE M., only sister of William Welles was born December 8, 1820. Early in life she professed faith in Christ. She was received into this church by letter from Rochester, Nov. 29, 1858. In 1852 she was married to G. M. Bixby. The inherent energy and spirit of her character manifested itself in her christian life, while her fine accomplishments enlivened the circles where she moved. She entered into rest May 4, 1869.

BENJAMIN STETLER was born in Middle Smithfield, Monroe county, Pa., May 9, 1815, was married to Pennelia Gaylord, March 31, 1846. He died in Albany township, January 12, 1869. His residence for the latter years of his life was so far from Wyalusing that it was seldom he could attend worship here. He is said to have led a consistent christian life, and died in the hope of the gospel.

I have thus briefly attempted to portray the christian characters of some whose names are connected with this church, names of those whose hearts being renewed by divine grace, gave the strength of their hearts thus renewed to the building up of Christ's kingdom in the community, and by whose influences our christian privileges have been secured and the ordinances of religion maintained for almost a century. The names of others found on our church roll, who have stood as manfully for the truth, and had equal zeal for Christ and his church in their respective neighborhoods, as the Stevenses and the Gambles, might be mentioned, but the scope of this discourse forbids further enlargement. I confess that it is with

reluctance that I forbear. I delight to linger around these precious memories and to feel the blessed influence of these examples of exalted faith. I delight to contemplate the type of piety which that system of doctrine taught in our standards, and as I unhesitatingly believe, taught in the word of God, produces. I delight to contemplate the fulfillment of the divine promises which are given to believing parents, as I see around me the dependents to the third and fourth generation of those, who through patience and self-denial, erected here a sanctuary to the worship of God.

Many of you, my young friends, are their children. A pious ancestry, though a priceless legacy, will not secure your approval in the great day. Nothing short of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ can do that. That blood alone can cleanse you from all sin. If you would leave a name like theirs, seek for a like faith, imitate their sacrifices and labors and faithfulness in Christ's cause, that at the last you may be found with them with your robes made white in the blood of the Lamb. So will God grant you acceptance in that day through Jesus Christ and succeeding generations say of you as we say of the fathers and mothers of the past,

“With us their names shall live
Through long succeeding years ;
Embalmed with all our hearts can give,
Our praises and our tears.”

NOTE.

It is said on page 6, that the Moravians "hold, in a modified form to a community of goods." This practice, though generally attributed to them, they do not observe. At the establishment of Bethlehem, the settlers agreed to work for the church and the church gave each one a support; at the same time, however, each person retained his own private property. This system of community of labor, or economy as it was called, was abolished in 1762. Bethlehem, Nazareth, Litiz and Salem, however, continued to be exclusively Moravian towns until 1843, when the exclusive system was abolished by the voluntary act of the church. Since that time, the Moravian, like other American churches, have formed but one of the constituent elements of the community.

GENERAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT UNTIL 1770.

The early settlement of Wyalusing was attended with so many interesting incidents, that it is thought some account of them will not be unacceptable to the general reader, and may be a small contribution to the common history of the country. In fact the whole valley of the North Branch of the Susquehanna, as far as the State of New York, being in great part settled by emigrants from Connecticut, and the pioneers in the upper portions of it being in many cases, the same persons who were active in the neighborhood of Wyoming through the exciting scenes which transpired there, forms but one continuous history, having common characteristics and many similar phases.

The Wyalusing Creek is a beautiful stream, which takes its rise in the Northern and central parts of Susquehanna County, and flows in a southwesterly direction into the Susquehanna River. Its course lies through a valley of great fertility, skirted on either side with hills of considerable elevation, which in some places have thrown their spurs to the water's edge, and in others have receded to the distance of half a mile or more, enclosing areas of productive bottom lands, and affording many scenes of picturesque beauty. This valley, when first known by the white people, was heavily timbered, and was a famous resort for game of various kinds, especially deer. A hunting path extended for some distance through its forests,

along which the red man pursued his favorite sport. The creek meets the river in one of those fine intervalles which characterize the scenery of the Susquehanna, and at the junction of the two valleys is a considerable scope of slightly rolling land, spoken of by the early travelers as the "Plains of Wyalusing."

It is the current opinion of historians that the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians, for many years occupied the valley as far as Tioga, the south door of the Iroquois, or confederated Five Nations, from which they were expelled by the latter, after a long series of bloody battles, that ended in the entire subjugation of the Delawares. Here, most likely, they had a village, as it was the place where one of those battles was fought, which must have been of great severity, its account being preserved in the traditions of both nations, and alluded to by the Cayuga Chief, who wished to remove the Christianized Indians to Cayuga Lake, assigning as his reason, that this was not a proper place for a peaceable people to live in, as "all that country had been stained with blood."* Having expelled the Delawares, the Senecas and Oneidas, tribes of the Iroquois, established villages at several points along the river, one of which was at Wyalusing. The great war-path, leading southward from Tioga, extended along the eastern bank of the river as far as Shamokin, the present site of Sunbury, which for many years continued to be a place of general rendezvous for the war and hunting parties of the Iroquois and their confederates, and where they kept a viceroy or agent to transact business growing out of their relations with the Southern tribes and the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. Wyalusing being about a day's journey on this great highway from Tioga, afforded to parties a convenient halting place, its gravelly plains an excellent camping ground, the abundance of game in its forests sup-

* See Life of Zelsberger.

plied them with venison, and its lower flats were well adapted to the growth of corn. These circumstances combined to make the village a place of note and importance among the aborigines of the country.

After the white people began to purchase territory of the Iroquois and their allies, the Susquehanna valley below Tioga, was reserved as a general asylum for the Indians who became dispossessed of their lands. In accordance with this arrangement, the Shawanese, who had been driven from Florida by the Spaniards in 1698, were invited to the valley and established themselves near Plymouth. Hither the Delawares were removed in 1742. The Nanticokes, or tide-water people, emigrated from the eastern shore of Maryland in 1748, and settled at various points along the river as far as Chemung. Which of these several clans occupied the village at Wyalusing, when it was first visited by the Moravian Missionaries, it is impossible to tell certainly, but most likely they were Delawares. In 1756 there was a considerable village here, a little below the site of a more ancient one, on the first rise from the river; and in the autumn of that year, the plains are represented as being covered with a luxuriant growth of corn. The natives gave to this village the same name as the Creek, Machiwihilusing, which we find alluded to by the names Mahacloosing, Wighalusin, Wihilusing, &c., but was generally known by the white people as Wialusing, or Wihilusing, as early as 1763 or 1765.* Judging from the correspondence between Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, and Commander Elder, in the autumn of 1763, as well as some other accounts of that date, it would be inferred that Wyalusing was considered the most important settlement between Tioga and Wyoming. Near the present Sugar Run Ferry was an ancient

* See Miner's Hist., P. 86, Mem. Moravian Church, vol. 1, P. 37.

burying ground, and until quite recently it was a common occurrence, after the subsidence of the river freshets, to find numerous bones, and not unfrequently entire human skeletons, with pieces of pottery washed out of the alluvial soil. In one instance, a few years since, there was discovered an unbroken earthen pot, containing the bones of a small animal, about the size of a woodchuck, which undoubtedly had been placed in the grave of some Indian warrior as provision for the way to the good hunting ground beyond. The various relics of Indian villages, as arrow-heads, burnt sandstones, pipes, hatchets, pestles, &c., have been picked up in great abundance, but unfortunately no collection of them has been preserved. After the removal of the Christianized Indians in 1772, there were no permanent habitations of the red men in this part of the valley, although occasional stragglers were sometimes seen here as late as, or later than, 1790.

It is well known that the territory of Northern Pennsylvania was for a long time the subject of fierce and even bloody dispute between the people of Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Owing to the imperfect knowledge of the geography of the country, conflicting grants of land were not unfrequently made in the royal charters, which afterward were the occasion of much perplexity. Without minutely tracing the history of these royal grants, it will be remembered that April 20, 1662, King Charles II. granted to the colony of Connecticut that part of the old Plymouth territory bounded on the east by Narragansett Bay, on the north by the line of the Massachusetts Plantation, on the south by the sea, and on the west by the south sea. This grant was understood to include all that tract between the forty-first and forty-second parallels of latitude from the Narragansett Bay westerly across the continent. Under this grant in 1753, a number of persons, con-

sisting first of 840, and afterward increased to 1,200, formed themselves into a company, under the name of the "Connecticut Susquehanna Company," for the purpose of purchasing of the Indians the lands claimed under the Connecticut charter on the Susquehanna. Accordingly at a conference held with the Six Nations at Albany, the company July 11, 1754, purchased for five thousand dollars all that tract beginning ten miles east of the Susquehanna and extending westward 120 miles, lying between the forty-first and forty-second parallels of latitude, and in 1762, the company planted their first colony in Wyoming.

On the 4th of March, 1681, Charles II. granted to William Penn a tract of land extending west from the Delaware River, through five degrees of longitude, and from the fortieth to the forty-third degrees of latitude, excepting a segment of twelve miles radius from Newcastle. At the treaty of Fort Stanwix, November 5, 1768, the Proprietors of Pennsylvania purchased of the Six Nations the disputed lands, and from this time commenced those fierce disputes for the soil, which have been known as the Pennemite and Yankee wars. The claim of Connecticut was based upon the earlier royal grant, earlier Indian purchase and earlier occupancy, that of Pennsylvania on the decision of the Royal Commission establishing the boundaries between the Provinces of Connecticut and New York in 1664.

The Susquehanna Company laid out their lands into townships containing about 16,000 acres each, and these townships were subdivided into shares, half shares and smaller portions, to meet the wants of the settlers. As a means of keeping off the Pennsylvania claimants, these lots were usually assigned on the condition of "manning their rights," that is, of defending by force their possessions against intruders. One of these

townships, Springfield, which was about five miles square, included a large part of the present Township of Wyalusing. It was divided almost diagonally by the Susquehanna River, the opposite corners being within 100 rods of the eastern bank of the river, and the eastern part of the township was divided in the same way by the Wyalusing Creek, the corner being about 150 rods east of it, and the mouth of the creek about midway on the diagonal joining the adjacent corners. This was one of the seventeen townships in which, under the compromises for the settlement of disputed titles between the Connecticut and the Pennsylvania claimants, on lands occupied previous to the Decree of Trenton, the Connecticut titles were accounted valid.

At a meeting of the Susquehanna Company, held in Hartford in 1768, it was resolved that five townships, each five miles square, should be surveyed and granted, each to forty settlers, being proprietors, on condition that those settlers should remain on the ground—these were the Townships of Wilkes-Barre, Hanover, Kingston, Plymouth and Pittston. Subsequently three townships were surveyed on the West Branch. From 1769 until 1772 the records of the Company contain numerous resolves in regard to the distribution of the land among the different proprietors. At this latter date there were at least two hundred settlers on the purchase and frequent transfers of lands were made, so that much of the time of the Company's meetings was taken up in arranging these individual details. In order to expedite this part of the business, and to relieve the company from embarrassment, a committee was appointed to make surveys, and appropriate lands and confirm titles to the settlers.

Accordingly, "At a meeting of y^e Susquehanna Company duly warned, held at Norwich, April y^e 1st, 1772."

Voted, that s^d committee are likewise empowered to order and direct where new townships shall be laid of five miles square, divided into fifty-three rights or shares, three of which shall be for public use, when they shall be applied to by twenty proprietors, by themselves or agents, for lands to settle on as a part of their proprietors' rights; Provided, always, (here are the conditions of payment, &c.,) that there shall be twenty settlers settled within each of s^d townships within two years from y^e time of laying out y^e same, in order that s^d proprietors of s^d township shall hold y^e same."

At the meeting held at Windham, March 9, 1774, the time of settling was extended to three years, "on account of troubles now existing in y^e purchase."

It will be seen that in the plan of the Company, each township embraced 16,000 acres, which was divided into lots of 300 acres each, and each settler was allowed to hold two lots of 600 acres. The lots for public use were for the support of the minister and school-master; the proprietors thus at the outset making liberal provision for the religious and secular education of their children.

This Committee was required to keep full and accurate records of their doings, but after the most diligent search I have been unable to find them.* The survey of Springfield must have been made in 1772, as on the 29th of August of that year a survey is recorded, one side of which is the Springfield township line.

The plan adopted by the committee in the distribution of

* There are in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford, four volumes of records, two of which contain copies of their deeds, charters and lists of original proprietors, constitution of the Company, &c. One contains the minutes of the company's meetings, and the other is a record of deeds and surveys, marked "Liber G.," extending from 1764 to the close of the Company's existence. There are also in the Commissioners office at Wilkes-Barre, three volumes of the records of deeds, attachments, &c. All of these I have carefully examined, for dates and facts respecting the company's acts concerning the settlement of these upper townships. There are missing the records of the town meetings, the records of the committee of the company, the list of proprietors ordered to be made in 1766 and several volumes of the records of deeds.

the lands was to give a township to a number of proprietors in common. It was then cut up into the required number of lots and numbered, and each proprietor drew two numbers which were his portion of the township. The holders of these lots were required to reside within the purchase for at least two years. Who were the original proprietors of Springfield it is now impossible to determine. The records at the Land office in Harrisburg give the names of the holders of Connecticut title in 1808, when the various claims were adjusted, but the chain of title back to the original proprietors is in most cases lost.

The following extracts from the records will give a clue to a few of them :

“To all whom it may concern.—Whereas at a meeting of y^e Susquehanna company duly warned and convened at Hartford, December 28, 1769, it was voted that Joseph Jacobs, of Philadelphia, should be entitled to one whole share in y^e Susquehanna purchase for y^e consideration in s^d vote mentioned,* and where as s^d Joseph Jacobs by his deed poll dated June 13, 1769,† for y^e consideration therein mentioned, did grant and convey y^e same whole share unto his brother Israel Jacobs, know y^e that I y^e s^d Israel Jacobs do hereby empower and authorize my trusty friend Benjamin Pawling in my place and stead, to take up and settle y^e s^d share, and finally to do and perform all such matters and things needful and necessary and lawful to be done and performed touching and concerning y^e same as fully and freely and absolutely as I myself might or could do were I personally present.

*The consideration was one full right or share given Joseph Jacobs at the above named meeting, for bailing Captain Durkee, who was captured by Captain Amos Ogden, and Sheriff John Jenning, September 1769, and lodged in prison at Philadelphia. This was the second raid made by the authorities of Pennsylvania upon the Connecticut settlers in that year.

†There is probably a mistake in the date here, as the right was not granted until December, and the bailing did not occur until September.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal
this 25th day of March, 1777. ISRAEL JACOBS.

There is also the following survey on record: "A piece of land surveyed to John Reine. Beginning at a walnut tree below Wialusingtown, thence running westerly by the Susquehanna river 161 chains to y^e mouth of Wyalusing creek, thence up y^e creek so far as y^e old Pennsylvania survey made to Job Chillaway, thence easterly by s^d survey till it comes to s Susquehanna river, thence up the river to the first mentioned bound, containing about 625 acres of land. Made 1st day of June, A.D., 1777. Y^e above pitch is made on s^d Hogsboon proprietor's right, he being an original proprietor."

From some broken and defaced records of surveys made by Samuel Gordon, it appears that in 1774 there was surveyed a lot for Thomas Wigton,* and one to James Quick, in 1776 one lot to Justus Gaylord, Sr., and in 1777 one lot for himself.

Through all of this disputed territory, the Proprietors had surveyed for themselves tracts of the finest lands, which were generally leased to their friends for a number of years, on certain conditions, one of which was, that they should defend the Proprietors against all other claimants—the remaining lands were left "to reward the enterprise of such friends as might be able to render assistance in meeting with defiance, and resisting with effect, the 'moss trooping' yankees from the east."† In accordance with this policy there was surveyed by Charles Stewart, deputy surveyor, in October, 1773, a tract called the "Manor of Dundee," containing 3520 acres and allowance on a "warrant of the Honorable the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, situate on the North Easterly Branch of the Susquehanna, and on a large stream called Wyaloos-

*From the same paper it would seem that the township was surveyed on his petition.

† MINKS's History, p. 107.

ing." This tract included 'all the rich bottom lands on the river except the Pawlingt ract, and embraced a narrow strip on both sides the creek for nearly six miles. These were leased to one Depew, and others, and occupied by them for some time. The plan of the Proprietors manifestly being, that failing to dislodge the yankees from the lower part of the valley, they would seize the best part of the land above them, and thus effectually hem them in. I have a list of twenty-one families who were occupying lands above Wyoming under the Pennsylvania title, previous to the Revolution. Of these there where two in Tunkhannock, one at Blackwalnut, one at Laceyville, three in Wysox, and most of the remainder at Wyalusing. In the meanwhile, the Connecticut people were not idle. The beautiful and fertile valley of the Wyalusing was too valuable a prize to be lost without an effort. They determined that no part of the purchase should be relinquished without the most determined and persistent endeavors to retain it. Therefore, in 1773, Amos York and Nathan Kingsley came up the river and began work on their lands, and Justus Gaylord, Samuel Fitch, James Wells and four or five other families followed them within the next two or three years. There were in this frontier settlement altogether about twenty or more families prior to the Revolution.

In addition to the constant irritation which grew out of this conflict of title and occupancy, the contest between the colonies and the mother country had culminated in the Declaration of Independence and open war; Indian hostilities began to be imminent and even in these remote settlements the inhabitants began to range themselves on one side or the other, for the impending conflict. The Connecticut people, true to their traditional love for independence, without exception, were on the side of Congress, while the Pennsylvania claimants, urged by feelings of personal animosity against the Whigs, growing

out of disputed land titles, generally espoused the cause of the crown, and determined to use this as a favorable opportunity, to enlist the aid of the loyalists and Indians to drive the Yankees entirely out of the valley. Such were the dangers which threatened the settlement, that it was contemplated to build a fort at Wyalusing, but this design was abandoned on the representation made by the wily savages, who professing peace, were at the same time planning mischief. At a *talk* held at Wyoming we find the following paragraph: "We are unwilling to have forts built up the river, but wish you would be content to build forts here among the lower settlements. A fort at Wyalusing will block up our new-made, wide, and smooth road, and again make us strangers to one another."* It seems surprising that the fears of the settlers should have been so easily quieted, especially when it was generally believed that the Indians were planning hostile movements, to which this upper settlement would be particularly exposed. Then too it was well known that many of the people were disaffected toward Congress, and were secretly plotting with the enemies of the country, and from Tioga or Sheshequin, which were then exclusively Indian towns, from which hostile bands could descend the river in a few hours, and murder or capture the inhabitants before their movements could be known or the people succored by the stronger settlements fifty or sixty miles below. What were the consequences of their being left thus unprotected the sequel will soon disclose. The loyalists, whose strong hold and centre of influence was at Wyalusing, being left free to carry on their alliance with the Indians for the extermination of the Yankees without restraint, *were now* exceedingly active in developing their plans.

That the reader may be able to judge for himself how far

*MINER's History, page 182.

these men were instrumental in bringing about the battle of Wyoming, and the outrages which followed it, I will quote at some length from papers which have never been published, to which I had access through the kindness of Mr. Steuben Jenkins, of Wyoming. The first is from the petition of Alexander Patterson,* presented to the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1804.

"In the year 1776, there were a number of inhabitants, settlers on the North-east Branch of the Susquehanna, near Wyalusing, under Pennsylvania title. Among these were two brothers by the name of Pawling, of a respectable family, from the county of Montgomery, who paid a thousand pounds in gold and silver for their farm at Wyalusing, unto Job Gillaway, a useful and well-informed Indian, who had obtained a grant for said land from the late proprietors of the State. Among the settlers were Messrs. Depue, Seacord, Vanderlip, and many others, wealthy farmers. The Yankees at Wyoming being more numerous, and though at the distance of sixty miles, insisted that the Pennsylvania settlers should come to Wyoming, and train and associate under Yankee officers of their own appointment. As may be supposed, the proposals were very obnoxious to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and very properly refused, alleging that they would associate by themselves, and would not be commanded by intruders, who had so repeatedly sacked the well-disposed inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and at that time bid defiance to

*Patterson was a zealous defender of the Pennsylvanians. As the agent of Governor Penn, in 1769, he brought to Easton jail the first 40 intruders "who had attempted to seat themselves at Wyoming." The next year he "was the most active, who again took their garrison with much enterprise." In the second Pennamite war he took a conspicuous and disgraceful part. As the Justice for Northampton county, in 1783, he continued for nearly two years to harrass the Connecticut people in every way his ingenuity could devise. Several persons were killed, many were sent to prison, crops were destroyed, buildings burned, families sent adrift homeless, civil war and confusion reigned, and the whole valley presented a scene of desolation and woe. Such a man would not be likely to unfavorably misrepresent his friends, whom he pledged his honor to defend, twenty years after the colonies had achieved their independence.

its laws and jurisdiction. This gave a pretext for the Yankees [calling] them tories. They, therefore, went in force and tied the Pennsylvania settlers and brought them to Wyoming with all their movables, and confined them in a log house, until the Indians who lived in the neighborhood of Wyalusing, and loved the Pennsylvanians and at that time were well affected toward the United States, some of whom were in our army—those Indians came to Wyoming and requested that the Pennsylvania people should be released from confinement. After some altercation, and the Indians declaring they would complain to Congress, they were released; and then on their return without property were ambushed and fired upon by the Yankees. The event of all this was, that the Pennsylvania people were so harassed by the intruders that they were driven to seek an asylum with the Indians, and at length retired to Niagara for protection. It was well known at that time, on the frontiers of Northampton and Northumberland, that the conduct of those Yankees occasioned the secession of the Five Nations from the United States. As was natural to imagine, those Pennsylvania settlers who had been so cruelly robbed of their property, would endeavor to regain it. *Their address and moving complaints, induced Joseph Brant, a well-known Indian chief and Colonel Butler, Superintendent of Indian affairs, to come with them to Wyoming, with a number of Indians, for the recovery of their property, goods, and chattles."* Then follows a characteristic account of the battle of Wyoming too long for quotation.

The following quotations from the other side show beyond question that some of the people here were in intimate communication with the British and Indians. 1st. From Elisha Hard-

ing's* letter to Charles Miner: "In the spring of 1777 the inhabitants or men above Buttermilk Falls, with a few exceptions, went to Niagara and continued there until fall. They then returned home and took the Freeman's oath, and continued until about the first of May, 1778, and returned to the enemy and soon came down with a party of Indians and Rangers with crafts and took their families—came down as far as Buttermilk Falls and returned, taking one man prisoner." Colonel Jenkins† in a letter to Mr. Kingsbury, written about 1801 (the date is torn off) says: "In a special manner the three Pawlings who left our settlement the year before the battle in 1778, joined General Butler, were commissioned as officers in the Rangers. They afterwards returned home in the winter season, made arrangement for their friends and then joined Butler early in the (season) of 1778. A Captain Stansbury was also aiding the Tories."

These quotations from the statements of persons who were upon the ground and had the best opportunities for information as well as others which might be given, establish the following particulars: 1st. That many of the most violent Tories were congregated at Wyalusing, and were claiming land under Pennsylvania title.

2d. That they were active instigators of the Indians to hostilities, and to a great degree the responsible agents in

*Harding was born in Connecticut, 1763, came to Wyoming in 1770, and belonged to a family which suffered much during the troubles which afflicted Wyoming, and several of them were killed. Miner, who was indebted to him for many of the facts stated in his history, says of him: "A man of strong mind and retentive memory, he read much and retained everything worth remembering." He died in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

†Colonel John Jenkins was for many years one of the most prominent men in Wyoming. In 1777 he was ambushed and captured by a party of Indians near Wyalusing, subsequently was taken to Albany to be exchanged for an Indian chief, the chief having died of small pox, the savages were with difficulty restrained from killing him. After the massacre, he joined Captain Spalding's company and continued in the service until the close of the war. In 1779 he joined Sullivan's expedition as a guide. As superintendent of surveys for the Susquehanna company he had acquired an intimate knowledge of the county and people, and performed his duties to entire satisfaction. He died in 1827 in the seventy-third year of his age, after a life of great activity, and having held several important civil officers in the county of Luzerne.

bringing about the terrible massacre at Wyoming, and were leaders and participants in it.

3d. They were led on by hatred toward the Connecticut people, and desire to acquire their lands though not intending to accomplish their extermination, were censurable for employing as allies, hostile Indians, whose acts of rapine and murder they could not control.

Mr York, who was an earnest defender of the rights of Connecticut, occupied a large tract of land under Connecticut title, and was also an ardent Whig—was the first object of their vengeance. He* had been one of the foremost to cast his fortunes at Wyalusing, and being possessed of considerable wealth, brought with him horses, cattle, and sheep to stock his farm and had provided his family with a large quantity of necessary supplies, so that there was every prospect for their comfort and enjoyment in their new home. His farm, that now occupied by Jackson and Chester Hollenback, included a part of the clearings of the Moravians. But his enemies had secretly planned his abduction, which they were now ready to carry into execution through the aid of their savage allies, and thus destroy the peace and comfort of his family.

About the middle of February, 1777, there was a very severe storm, snow falling to the depth of several feet. During each evening of the storm, on the 12th and 13th, a negro came to his house on some trifling errand and remained until bed time. The character of the negro and the frivolous excuses he made for coming out in such a storm, awakened the suspicions of the family that all was not right. Early the next morning, the 14th, Mr. York rode to the old mission

*The Yorks belonged to the old Connecticut families. James, the ancestor of Amos York, came from England and settled first at Braintree, thence he removed to Boston, and finally went to Stonington in 1670. Amos, the great grandson of his was born about 1730.

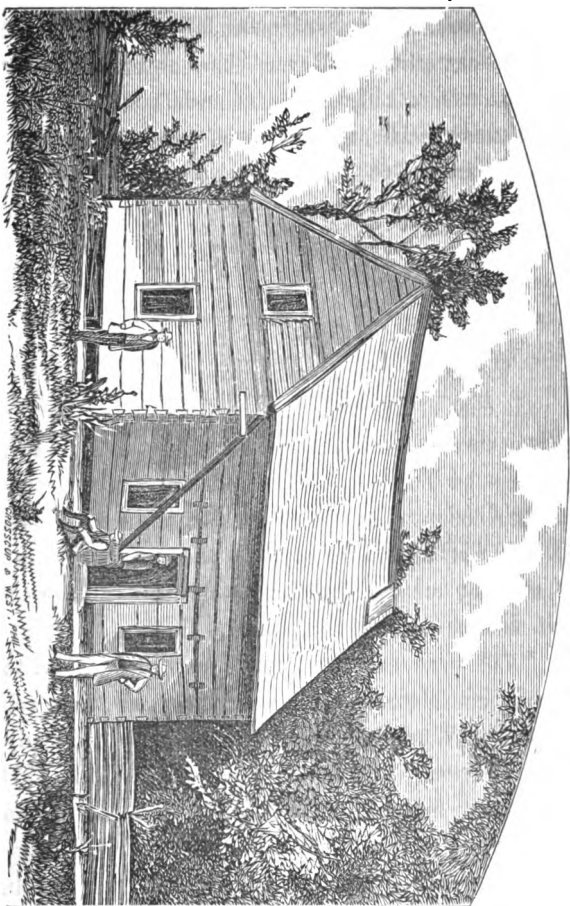
village where several families were living, and without suspicion, entered the house of a supposed friend and received a cordial welcome. But it was the malicious welcome of a treacherous enemy. Between forty and fifty Indians, led on by two Pennsylvania Tories, one of whom was Parshall Terry, Jr., had arrived at the settlement and were waiting there during the storm. The moment they saw him they gave the war whoop, and his white neighbor told him he was their prisoner. Fourteen of the savages repaired with Mr. York to his house for plunder. The family were waiting their morning meal anxious for his return, and when they saw him attended by his savage escort, they met him with heartrending cries of distress. Fearful anticipations painted the scene in most dreadful colors. What but a general massacre could they expect from their savage foes, armed with rifle, tomahawk and scalping knife, to whom the British Government had promised a reward for scalps taken from the enemy! Their terrors were in a measure allayed, when they were told that they were not to be killed, but the father must go with them as a prisoner. Then commenced a scene of general pillage. The house was plundered of most of their bedding, wearing apparel, meat and grain which were loaded upon sleds, to which were attached his oxen and horses. His cattle and flocks were collected and the best of them were taken; still enough was left for the comfortable sustenance of the family until spring. As Mr. York was talking with his family and giving them directions how to proceed in his absence, an Indian struck him a blow which felled him in the snow. He rose, gave his wife one earnest, loving, tearful look, his last farewell, departed with his captors, and she never saw him again. The journey was one of indelible suffering from exposure to the cold as well as from grief of mind. Mr.

York was compelled to watch the flock his own industry had raised, and drive them at the pleasure of his plunderers. The first day the trail went to the mouth of the Wisaukin, where they lodged at the house of Mr. Strobe, and the second to Tiega. Mr. York was taken to Canada and was subsequently exchanged, and returned to his old home in Connecticut, where hearing of the disastrous battle of Wyoming, and learning nothing of his family, he fell sick of fever and died nine days before Mrs. York reached there. The subsequent history of the family has been related in another place, it need only be added that one of Mr. York's daughters married Job Turrell, and another married Daniel Turrell, who became parents of large and influential families, the former in Connecticut, the latter in Susquehanna county.

In Nov., 1777, Lieut., son of Col. Jenkins who was on a trip of observation up the river, was waylaid and captured by a lurking band of Indians. Lemuel Fitch was also taken with him; and at Standing Stone they captured Elemuel Fitzgerald. Of this person, Mr. Harding, in the letter before alluded to, tells the following anecdote: "The Indians and their allies took Fitzgerald as far as Wysox, where they placed him on a flax brake and told him he must renounce his rebel principles and declare for the king or die. 'Well,' said the stout-hearted old fellow, 'I am old and have but little time to live anyhow, and I had rather die now, a friend to my country, than live ever so long and die a tory.'" They released him, however, and he found his way back to Wyoming. After peace he came back to his old home, where he died at an advanced age. This incident is characteristic of the spirit of the men who made their homes in this valley at that early day, hewed down its forests, endured all sorts of privations and hardships, and the fruit of whose labors we now enjoy.

Fitch and Jenkins were taken to Niagara, and from thence to Montreal, when Jenkins was taken to Albany, and Fitch was released. He made his way back to Wyoming where he died. Messrs. York, Jenkins and Fitch were the first prisoners taken out of the valley. The object thus far seems to have been not to kill, but to intimidate the people, by capturing the most active and influential patriots, and by this means induce the others to leave the country.

Nathan Kingsley was another one of the first settlers in Wyalusing. He was a native of Connecticut, and belonged to one of the most noted families in that State. He was a man of wealth and influence in that early day. He occupied the old log house now standing on the lands of Mrs. Welles, a few rods east of the railroad, and north of the depot. This house, a view of which is given facing this sketch, is on lands adjoining the York property, and was built about 1768, and for a time occupied by the celebrated missionary, Heckewelder. It is, without doubt, the oldest house in the county. Here Kingsley, by means of great watchfulness and prudence, lived for some time unmolested by the Indians, but at length in June, 1778, was captured by them and taken to Niagara. After a confinement of six months he was released and returned to Wyoming, whither his family had fled, before his capture. It was during his captivity (Nov. 2, 1778) that his son Nathan Kingsley, Jr., was killed, and another son together with Frances Slocum was carried into captivity. The story of the capture of Frances, and of the discovery of her by her brother after an absence of sixty years, as told by Mr. Miner, is one of the most thrilling incidents of the Revolution, and has been so frequently republished as to be familiar to all the readers of our early history. Mr. Kingsley had but one son left, Warrum, who married into the Turrell



HECKEWELDER HOUSE.—The oldest in Bradford County.

family, went to Connecticut where he died. After troubles in the valley in a measure ceased, Mr. Kingsley returned to Wyalusing, where he lived for several years. Unfortunately the old man acquired intemperate habits and became very poor, so that he became a town charge and his keeping was sold to James Anderson, who removed west where Kingsley died, it is said by the falling of a tree, about the year 1800. He was an intrepid pioneer in this county, and removing so early from Wyoming, his name is seldom mentioned in their records. The people of Wyoming being shut out from the usual sources of information in regard to public affairs, established a post to Hartford, and Mr. Kingsley was a constant contributor to its support. In May, 1787, he was commissioned one of the Judges of Luzerne County, and on the 27th sat on the Bench at the first court held there. This office he resigned January 14, 1790, on account of the great difficulty for a man of his age to reach Wilkes-Barre. In September, 1788, he and Justus Gaylord, Oliver Dodge Thomas Lewis, Isaac Hancock and Gideon Baldwin were appointed by the Court Commissioners with full powers to lay out all necessary roads in Springfield township, and thus assisted in opening the first regular roads in Wyalusing.

Lieutenant James Wells, a native of Connecticut, was another of the early settlers here. In 1771 the Susquehanna company surveyed two townships on the West Branch, and Mr. Wells became a proprietor in one of these—Charlestown. In 1775 Colonel Plunket, under orders from the Pennsylvania Government, with a strong force of Northumberland militia, broke up the settlement, burned the buildings, plundered their goods, and took the men as prisoners to jail. The most of them were, however, speedily released and returned to Wyoming, whence Mr. Wells came to Wyalusing, and lived in a house where there is now a grove of small oaks,

about sixty rods from the bend in the road] below the Presbyterian church, toward the river. When danger from the savages became imminent, he like many others in this remote settlement, returned to the more densely settled parts of the valley. He was a Lieutenant in the little army sacrificed in the defence of Wyoming, and one of the party sent out by Col. Zebulon Butler to select the ground on which the patriot army should form their line of battle, fell in the engagement, and his name is written among the "honored brave." He was the father of Rauben, Guy, and Amasa Wells, of whom mention will be made further on.

Justus Gaylord has been spoken of before; the following facts, however, may not be uninteresting. He was one of forty-four who organized the township of Norfolk, Connecticut, December 12, 1748. In 1773 he was appointed one of the directors* of Plymouth township, under the articles adopted for the government of the settlers by the Susquehanna company, June 2, 1773; chosen tything man for the township, March 2, 1774, was in the company captured by Plunket in his raid upon Wyoming in 1775, and lodged in Sunbury jail. Soon after his release he came to Wyalusing, and lived near where the railroad now crosses the line between the Welles and Stalford estates. He returned to Wyoming before the Indian troubles began.†

Mr. Harding, in the letter before alluded to, gives in addition to the names above mentioned, the following from

*There were appointed three directors for each town in whom were vested the entire civil authority. They had "the direction of the settlement of such town, and the well ordering and governing of the same, to suppress vice of every kind, preserve the peace of God and the king therein, to whom each inhabitant shall pay, such and the same submission as is paid to the civil authority in the general towns in this colony. They must be "able and judicious men," &c.

†I have here followed Miner's account, although it somewhat conflicts with the family traditions. The names of father and son being alike, may in this as in other instances, where two persons of the same name were in one family, have occasioned some confusion, but the above is most probably the correct account.

about Wyalusing who fled to the forts for protection, viz : Z. Marcy, E. Sanford, I. Thompson, Phelps the Elder, N. Depew, and R. Carr. Of these I have been unable to learn anything further, or that they or their immediate decedents ever returned to this neighborhood. Those that returned with Butler were Anguish, Kentner, Simmons, Bowmans, Phillips, Stephens, Smith, Buck, Williose, Wartmans, (here is a name that cannot be deciphered) Seacords, Willards, E. Phelps, Brown, Depew, Vanderlip and others.

At the time of the battle of Wyoming the settlement was probably abandoned by all parties—the whigs had gone to Wyoming for protection, and the tories had joined the British Butler's Rangers. The white people did not return before 1781 or 1782. The various predatory bands of Indians and tories made it extremely dangerous for any whig to be so far from any of the protected settlements. In fact, until near the close of the Revolutionary war, the valley swarmed with bands of hostile savages, who were continually committing depredations, murdering or carrying people away captive in sight of the forts at Wyoming, burning buildings, stealing horses and cattle from the most thickly populated parts of the valley.

In the autumn of 1778 Colonel Hartley set out with a small force from Muncy and marched over to Sheshequin, where he burned Queen Esther's town and then taking his way down the river encamped over night at the old Indian town in Wyalusing, and as it had recently afforded shelter to the tories who acted as spies and informers to the enemy, he burned it.* On the ridge a little below the town, he had a slight skirmish with the Indians, and about three miles

*So says Sherman Day, on what authority I do not know—other accounts will be given.

beyond, on the hills just above the lower border of the county he had a pretty sharp encounter with* them. In this engagement, the savages who had been hovering over his path all the way from Tioga, and who outnumbered his little force by four or five to one, made a furious onset. Being met with great skill, courage and coolness, they abandoned the attack and allowed him to pursue the remainder of his journey unmolested.

The next year, 1779, General Sullivan, on his famous expedition into the Indian country, arrived at Wyalusing on the 5th of August, and his army encamped here. At the encampment of the night before, on Vanderlip's farm, at Black Walnut, a man was left sick, and the next day a party sent back found him dead. The same night a sergeant from the New Jersey troops died suddenly, and both were buried near the old Kingsley house. The army remained here until the 8th. From Lieutenant Colonel Habley's journal of the campaign is the following paragraph referring to Wyalusing: "This valley was formerly called Old-man's farm, occupied by the Indians and white people; together, they had about sixty houses, a considerable Moravian meeting house, and sundry other public buildings; but since the commencement of the present war the whole has been consumed and laid waste, partly by the savages and partly by our own people. The land is extraordinarily calculated chiefly for meadows. The grass at this time is almost beyond description, high* and thick, chiefly blue grass, and the soil of the land very rich. The valley contains about 1200 acres of land, bounded on one side by an almost inaccessible mountain, and on the other by the river Susquehanna." The following is an extract from the journal of Thomas Grant, who was also with the expedition:

*Another account says as high as a man's head,

“Marched this day nine and one-half miles to Wiahusing, a noted Indian town settled by Moravian Indians who professed christianity. * * This town and the land adjacent formerly belonged to an Indian chief by the name of Joab Chilaway, which in this present contest and before has behaved friendly. This place is at present laid waste partly by our own people and the Indians; not the appearance of a house to be seen, but the soyle exceedingly fine, abounding with the finest grass I ever saw in a wild country, chiefly blue grass and clover.” Grant adds the place of the encampment was one and a fourth miles above the old Indian town, on the gravelly ridge on which the Presbyterian church now stands. In ascending the hill above Wyalusing, the advance guard fell in with a party of Indians lying in ambush, in which several were wounded, but the Indians dispersed after the first fire.

CHAPTER II.—1780-1786.

The valley of the North Branch originally formed a part of Northampton county, but subsequently it was set off to Northumberland, and in 1780 the township of Wyalusing was erected. As then described, it was bounded on the north and south by parallel lines running due east and west, the former crossing the river at Standing Stone, the latter at the mouth of the Meshoppen Creek, its eastern boundary being the east line of Susquehanna county, and its western limit the head waters of Towanda Creek. The organization of the township did not take place until some time after. Luzerne county

limits of the new county were, beginning at the mouth of was erected by Act of Assembly, September 25, 1786. The Nescopeck Creek, and running along the south bank thereof eastward to the head of said creek; thence a due east course to the head branch of Lehigh Creek; then along the east bank of Lehigh Creek to the head thereof; thence a due north course to the northern boundary of the State, thence along said boundary fifteen miles west of the Susquehanna river; thence by a straight line to the head of Towanda Creek, then along the divide of the two branches of the river to a point due west from the mouth of the Nescopeck Creek; thence east to the place of beginning. Wyalusing was one of the eleven townships of which the new county was composed, its northern and its southern boundaries remaining unchanged, those on the east and on the west being the limits of the county. The townships of the Susquehanna company were never recognized by the Pennsylvania Government as political divisions, but township and county lines were run without any regard to them whatever. Under the compromise acts by which disputed titles of land were settled, seventeen of the company's towns lying in Luzerne county, were known as "certified townships," as describing the territory where those acts applied, and determining the lines of certain surveys, otherwise they were in no way recognized by the authority of the State.

The country having become in a measure quieted from the effects of the late war, and no further danger being apprehended from the incursions of the Indians, the old settlers began to come back and new ones to flock in. Among the first of these was Thomas Brown, who came up and occupied a clearing on Sugar Run Creek, nearly a half a mile from the river. The Browns are mentioned among the earliest New

England families. Thomas was a native of Rhode Island, but removed to Quaker Hill, Dutchess county, N.Y., where his son Daniel was born, of whom mention has been made before. In 1776 the family came into the Wyoming valley, and settled in Pittston. Here they built a stockade on their own land, which was called Brown's Fort. About the time of the descent of the Indians to the valley, Mrs. Brown received an intimation of the danger from a friendly squaw, and with her smaller children retired to the mountains; the older ones remained for the defence of the place. In that far-famed battle, Thomas a brother, and John a half brother of Daniel, (who then but a mere lad, was in the Forty Fort) were slain. Thomas in the retreat had nearly crossed the river, when overtaken by the enemy, he was forced to return, and on reaching the shore, was instantly speared and tomahawked.

In 1780 they came up the river in a canoe and brought one cow with them. They remained on the Sugar Run until about 1787-8 when Joseph Ingham purchased their possession and the family moved into Browntown. He was the father of a large family, many of whom were sons who by marriage became connected with several of the old families here. Thomas Brown died in 1791 at a good old age, and was among the first buried in the beautiful cemetery at Wyalusing, where the winds waft through the old pines that overshadow those hallowed grounds, unceasing requiems for the dead. The first person buried there was a raftman named George March, who was drowned in the Susquehanna, in the spring of 1790. The stone of Mr. Brown bears the oldest date of any in the cemetery.

The same year that Mr. Brown died, 1791, Mr. Richard Vaughan was buried in Wyalusing. He was born in 1754, and with two brothers came from New York State and settled on

the Lackawanna. He served in the American army during the Revolutionary war, being Quartermaster a part of the time. In 1785-6 he came to Laceyville and purchased a tract of 400 acres of land, what was afterward known as the Avery place. The family came to Rummerfield the year after his death. All of them however left this region, except his son Elias, who was commissioned postmaster in 1811, and retained the office for a number of years. Afterward he removed to Vaughan Hill, where his sons now reside. He married Sarah Abbott, March 6, 1807, and died November 1865 in the 83d year of his age. He was prudent and industrious in business, kind and hospitable as a neighbor, and maintained an unblemished character for integrity and uprightness.

The old burying ground has received many accessions since the time above mentioned, and while we naturally pause at the mound beneath which lie the ashes of those whom we have known and loved in their lives, yet who does not like to linger around the ruder memorials of the fathers, decipher the uncouth characters, now moss-covered and nearly obliterated, in which the hand of affection the best way it could, sought to perpetuate the names of the toil-worn veterans, in our country's early history.

Very soon after the Browns came up the river, Mr. Kingsley returned to his old home and Amos Ackley, Richard Bennett and Judah Benjamin made possessions north of the creek, (about 1782).^{*} Previous to this the settlers had all clustered around the cultivated lands of the Moravians, most of the houses having been built along a path, which through Browntown followed pretty nearly the course of the canal,

^{*}They must have been here previous to 1783, as Major Gaylord who bought their possessions, held under Connecticut title.

ran through the old Indian town, along the ridge back of the house of John Stalford, and thence along the west slope of the ridge, to near the creek. As the settlers came in after the war, they began to take up land along the creek, so that in 1795 we find families living four and five miles above the forks of the Wyalusing, Benjamin built a house near the one recently occupied by G. W. Jackson. He moved from here into Pike township. Akely lived fifty or sixty rods farther up the creek, just at the bottom of the hill, beside the old mill-race. He removed to Durell Creek, where many of his decedents now live. Bennett's house was a few rods in the rear of Bascom Taylor's lower barn. He built a little mill on a small stream, which empties into the Wyalusing near the road that crosses the creek to Stalford's saw-mill. This mill must have been a small affair, as the tradition of it has been remembered by only one or two persons whom I have talked with. When it was built cannot now be known with certainty. In a survey of roads made in 1790, it is mentioned as one of the points to which the survey was referred. It is said the mill would grind three bushels of samp meal in a day. This was doubtless the first mill in the township if not in the county. Mr. Bennett afterward moved up the river to a point nearly opposite William Storrs, called Bennett's Eddy.

Isaac Hancock returned to Wyalusing about 1785. He had been here for a time previous to the Revolution, as it was here that his third daughter, Polly who was married to Ezekiel Brown, was born, September 10, 1777. This is the second white child born in Wyalusing of which there is any record—a son of Amos York, who died in infancy, being the first. Mr. Hancock was born at Valley Forge, Montgomery county, in 1740. During the troubles here he retired to the more thickly settled part of the country. After he came here the

second time, he built a house on the point of the ridge, a few rods west of the Sugar Run Ferry road, which was known as Hancock's Tavern, and though not very commodious in its accommodations, nor stylish in the character of its entertainments; yet its log walls and roof of unshaved shingles afforded greatful shelter to many a weary adventurer, and its stores of New England rum and corn whisky were the occasion of many a round of boisterous mirth, and perhaps sometimes of more unpleasant encounters. Mr. Hancock was the first Justice of the Peace in the township, and held the office until about 1802, at which time he moved farther up the Wyalusing, where he died March 2, 1820. His daughter, Nancy Brink, is still living at New Milford, Susquehanna county, and though nearly eighty-six years of age, distinctly remembers many of the events of that early day.

About the same time the York family returned to their old home. Their house though standing, was considerably dilapidated, their fences were decayed and their clearings covered with bushes. During their eight years absence, things had remained very nearly as they left them, except what had resulted from the want of care and labor, even the stick of wood which Mrs. York's son was chopping when he saw the Indians coming with his father, lay upon the ground just as he left it. A less spirited and earnest woman under such circumstances and surrounded by such painful associations, would have given up all hope and sat down in despair. But her son, who had now become a young man, meeting his responsibilities with manly courage, and aided by his mother's counsel, with great energy set about repairing the injury their farm had sustained during their absence, and his labors were attended with so much success that he was able in a short time to place the family beyond the reach of want.

Justus Gaylord, Jr., came to Wyalusing in company with the Yorks, and occupied the land purchased by his father or himself before the war, where he remained for a year or two, when he purchased the possessions of Benjamin, Akely, and Bennett and moved into the Benjamin house, where he lived for several years. While living here, there came along a stranger one day, who fed his horse near Mr. Gaylord's house. After a while a new and showy flower bloomed upon the spot, which the family allowed to remain for its novelty, but in a few years, from this single seed, the ox-eye daisy had spread over every man's farm in the country. Mr. Gaylord was one of the most prominent men in this little community. He was watchful for its interests and active in promoting its prosperity, and was frequently honored by his neighbors with offices of trust if not of profit. Intelligent, of good judgment and of unswerving integrity, his counsel was sought in every matter of difficulty, and his aid solicited for every enterprise. As illustrating the respect in which he was held, the following from Miner's History may not be inappropriate :

“ In 1806 Justus Gaylord, Jr., was on the ticket for Assembly. Luzerne then embraced Wyoming, Susquehanna and Bradford, except the Tioga district set off to Lycoming.* The vote stood—Justus Gaylord, Jr., 333 ; Justus Gaylord, 38 ; total, 371 ; Moses Coolbaugh, 364, so that if the votes given without the Jr. were added to his list, (his father being a very old man and not a candidate,) he was chosen. But the place had not charm enough to induce the old soldier to contest the election, and Mr. Coolbaugh took the seat. The incident is mentioned to show the respect in which he was

*This included the northern part of Bradford county and was done to keep John Franklin out of the Legislature, by depriving him of the vote of his friends in the lower part of the valley. The plan did not succeed, for even Lycoming sent the old veteran to represent her, and the very next year after the dismemberment of Luzerne had been effected, those who had brought it about, had the mortification to find Franklin in his old seat.

held, as well as to show that less than 400 votes chose a member of Assembly." He was a liberal patron of education, the first school in Wyalusing being taught in his house, the friend of peace and good order, a lover of hospitality, whose house was ever open to the traveler and his table spread for the hungry. He was on the first traverse jury that ever sat in Luzerne county, March 1788. Before this no trials were had on account of the troubles growing out of land titles and the arrest of John Franklin. He and Joseph Elliott were on the Grand Jury in September of the same year.

Joseph Elliott was also one of the settlers of 1785. Born in Stonington, Conn., October 10, 1755, he, with his father's family, removed first to Orange county, N. Y., and then to Pittston, Pa., in 1776. He was in the company of eighty men, who, under the command of Col. Dorance, ascended the river as far as Sheshequin in 1777. *Query*: Was this the party who captured the settlers under Pennsylvania title, at Wyalusing, referred to in the letter of Patterson? All the circumstances that we know, point to an affirmative answer. It was a few months after the capture of Mr. York, who was taken off at the connivance of the Pennsylvanians here; we know that the conduct of these people had been such as to awaken grave suspicions in the minds of the Whigs both at Wyalusing and Wyoming—and then, this is the only detachment of sufficient force, to capture so many, sent up here previous to the battle. Be the object what it may, this was Elliott's first active military service. At the battle of Wyoming he was a member of the company under Capt. James Bidlack, Jr., which consisted of thirty-eight men, and occupied the right in the line of battle. The enemy having turned the left wing, poured their overwhelming force upon the right, which was nearly surrounded and many were captured, among whom was Elliott. Stripped and led to the "Bloody Rock," with

other captives, they were arrayed in a circle, and the work of butchery began. Six or seven having been murdered, one Thomas Fuller, a young man, shook off his guards and sprang to escape, but was almost instantly overtaken and tomahawked. The attention of the Indians being diverted to the struggle, Elliott and Hammond, at the same instant, broke loose from their captors and fled, Hammond to the mountains, and Elliott to the river. He was pursued by several of the savages, but succeeded in making his escape. When nearly across the river he was wounded in the left shoulder. Secreting himself until dark, he made his way to Wilkes-Barre Fort, where Dr. Smith dressed his wound. The next morning he was placed in a canoe, accompanied by his wife and a boy, who took him to Catawissa. After partial recovery at this place, he passed on foot to the Delaware, and thence to the Never-sink bottoms.

No sooner had he recovered from his wound, than he again entered the service. On Sullivan's advance into the Indian country, a line of expresses was established to connect with Wyoming. John Carey and Joseph Elliott were selected for that duty. In this arduous undertaking, he was exposed to great hardships—drenched with rain, out by night and by day, sleeping in the woods when sleep he could, sometimes hungry and often cold, after eighty days' service he was taken sick and barely recovered.

April 7, 1782, a party of Indians rushed into the house of Lieut. Roswell Franklin, in Hanover settlement, captured his wife and four remaining children, one an infant, (two sons had been captured the September previous,) burned his buildings, and started up the river. Several parties set off in instant pursuit. One of these consisting of eight persons, were led on by Thomas Baldwin, Joseph Elliott being second in command. The names of the others were John Swift, Oliver Ben-

nett, Watson Baldwin, — Cook, — Dudley; the name of the other I cannot learn. On reaching the Wyalusing they became satisfied that they had outstripped the savages, but went on to gain a more favorable position, which was a narrow defile, on the Frenchtown hill, in Wyalusing township, between the former residence of Hon. J. F. Chamberlain and the river. Here forming a miniature line of battle, and uncertain of the strength of their foe, they awaited his approach. Swift had gone out in pursuit of game for their breakfast. About nine o'clock in the morning an Indian was seen stealthily advancing along the path, when at a signal, twelve more armed to the teeth advanced, having with them Mrs. Franklin and her children. The parties thus stood thirteen against seven.

Dudley, who first discovered the enemy, had the first fire, and the foremost savage fell. The mother and her children were forced to lie down behind the trunk of a fallen tree, and were threatened with instant death if they attempted to escape. Then commenced the conflict, a fiercer than which, for the numbers engaged, has not its parallel in the annals of modern warfare. The yells of the savages, the shouts of the whites, the rattle of musketry made hideous music in that wild forest. Dudley had been wounded in the hand in the act of reloading his piece, but remained at his post. After firing for some time, the Indians attempted to break through the line which our men formed, but were repulsed, two more of their number having been killed and one wounded, whereupon the victors raised such a shout that Mrs. Franklin could not refrain from raising her head, when the wounded savage shot her dead. Elliott burning with indignation at the brutal act, determined to avenge her death. Taking the range of a large tree in front of him at the foot of which was the prostrate trunk of another, he secured a favorable position, and the Indian soon raising his head above his covert, was shot in the throat.

Swift came up about two o'clock in the afternoon, and was admonished by Dudley to seek the shelter of a tree, to which he replied with an oath, that having chased the rascals for seventy miles he now wanted to get sight of them. His wish was soon gratified, for an Indian peered out from behind a tree to see what Swift was doing, when the intrepid fellow shot the savage through the head, and instead of stopping to reload, seized his tomahawk, ran up to the fallen Indian, rent off his scalp, and with a shout called to his companions to come on.

Our men were already so near where Mrs. Franklin lay, that the children knew their voices, and the two girls and boy crept through the bushes to where Mr. Elliott was, and were rescued. The Indians alarmed at the reckless manner of Swift, the leader of the band caught up the infant and placing it upon his shoulder, fled. The fate of the little one was never known.

This engagement is the only one of any importance, which in modern times, occurred within the limits of the township, for this reason the account has been given with considerable minuteness. It is true the fate of an empire did not hang on the result of the combat, but the lives of the family of a companion in arms was the prize of the contest, and nobly was it won. For five hours the conflict raged, during which the rescuers exhibited the most daring valor, unflinching courage, consummate skill and untiring patience. The casualties were Dudley wounded in the hand and Baldwin in the arm, five of the Indians killed and one wounded. Mrs. Franklin was buried as decently as circumstances would permit, when the party made a raft and hastened home with their prize.

When Mr. Elliott came to Wyalusing, he brought his aged parents with him, whom he cared for with unremitting kindness

until their death. About 1792 he moved to Merryall where he died March 29, 1849. He was said to have been the last survivor engaged in the battle of Wyoming. Mr. Elliott was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of Thomas Brown; she having died, he married a daughter of Thomas Lewis, October 18, 1787. He is remembered as a kind hearted and benevolent neighbor, one whose family affections were strong and of the tenderest kind. Mr. Miner says of him: "His habits have been simple, his life virtuous, his conduct in war as meritorious as fidelity and bravery could render it." His services were not forgotten by the Republic, which gave him a pension of \$65 per year in his old age.

These early settlers were all poor. With perhaps one or two exceptions, they were in the Wyoming valley during the Revolutionary war and had been stripped of everything, and had suffered everything but death. Timothy Pickering, who is well known to every reader of our early history, passed up the Susquehanna in 1784. In his account of this trip he says "We were under the necessity of passing through the Wyoming settlements from Nescopeck to Tioga. The inhabitants from the causes before mentioned, (the Indian depredations) were universally poor, and their stock of cattle small and inadequate to the common purposes of husbandry. From Nescopeck to Tioga, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, we tasted bread but once." For several years, corn coarsely broken in their samp mortars, and venison formed almost exclusively their only articles of diet. We, accustomed to the abundance and luxuries of our ordinary living, can hardly realize the picture which these few lines present, or the changes which in less than a century have been produced.

It will be remembered that the first settlements were on the river flats and therefore were exposed to the freshets

which frequently happen. In the ice flood of 1784 these flats were covered with water, but comparatively little damage was done ; but in October, 1789, the river rose rapidly to a height greater than ever was known before, and occasioned great loss. The hay was gathered and much of it was in stacks, the corn was in the shock, the cattle were feeding in the meadows, and the flood swept all before it. The fruit of the summer's toil the hope of the winter's sustenance was borne off in triumph by the turbulent waters, and in consequence no little suffering ensued. Those who escaped however, shared their store with true fraternal generosity with others less fortunate, and the next season these hardy pioneers commenced their labors with renewed courage. This has been known as the Pumpkin Freshet from the great quantities that floated down the river.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF LUZERNE COUNTY TO THE ASSESSMENT IN THE TOWNSHIP. 1787-1795.

The controversies which had agitated Pennsylvania and Connecticut prior to the revolution, respecting the jurisdiction and right of soil to the Susquehanna purchase, had, in a great measure, been held in abeyance from the battle of Wyoming until the Trenton decree, which confirmed to Pennsylvania jurisdiction over the disputed territory. While all parties professed a willingness to submit to this decision, yet the question of title to lands in actual occupancy before this decree, was an open one. For the next three years the con-

duet of Pennsylvania towards the Connecticut settlers was so vacillating as to excite the disgust of all right minded men, both in and out of the Commonwealth. Laws passed one session of the Legislature for quieting the settlement, were repealed the next, so that the distressed people of the whole Susquehanna valley lost all confidence in the integrity of the State, whose laws they professed to be willing to obey. And then the officers to whom the execution of these laws were committed, were cruel and vindictive in the exercise of their authority. Men who had perilled their lives in the defence of the country during the war, were, by them, arrested as intruders and trespassers, and sent to jail. Neither age, character, honorable service, sex nor condition was spared. To such an extent were these measures carried, that people in all parts of the State began to remonstrate with the authorities; the Legislature was rebuked by the censors, and some of their appointees in Wyoming were indicted by the grand jury of Northumberland. In the meanwhile, the energies of the Susquehanna company, which had been parallized by the decision at Trenton, were now aroused, and some of the leading men of New England, under the leadership of Col. John Franklin, were determined, as a last resort, to set up an independent State government on the disputed territory. To this end half shares in the townships, that is, about one hundred and fifty acres, were offered gratis, to any who would occupy them and defend the company's rights. A multitude of restless, and in many instances, reckless spirits seized upon the offer, and in a few months from the early part of 1786 the tide of emigration to the purchase was greater than it had been before. These were, for the most part, a very different class of men from the original settlers. Many of them had been soldiers in the Revolutionary war, were men without families, and not unfrequently, without character or morals, and were known

as *wild Yankees* or *half share* men. To these lands were assigned all along the river townships; and consequently, at the time at which our chapter opens, there was an almost constant stream of new comers passing through Wyalusing for the purpose of locating their shares. The most of these proved to be mere temporary residents, who soon left the country, and consequently their names and history, so far as connected with this township, has been forgotten. But for all this, they played an important part in the events then transpiring, and in the subsequent history of the whole valley. These operations and purposes of the Susquehanna company were not unobserved by the people of Pennsylvania. The Legislature became alarmed at the consequences of its own rashness. Interested landholders, who had manipulated the legislation of the State, were made to stand aside for wiser heads and more peaceable counsels. Timothy Pickering, a native of Massachusetts, and a distinguished lawyer, was requested to visit Wyoming and examine into its condition, and discover the sentiments of the more moderate and influential class of its citizens. The result was, that the county of Luzerne, embracing the whole territory occupied by the Connecticut people, was established and organized on the 27th of May 1787, by the appointment of James Nesbitt, Obadiah Gore, Nathan Kingsley, Benjamin Carpenter, Matthias Hollenback and William Hooker Smith, justices of the Court of Common Pleas, and Pickering, Prothonotary, Register, Recorder and Clerk of the Court, as provided under the old Constitution. By this act, and another which was subsequently passed for quieting the settlers in their possessions, the plans of Franklin and his party were thwarted, and the endless troubles which must have grown out of their proposed project for a new State, were happily obviated.

During the period embraced in this chapter there was also

much shifting of property; and speculation in land, was, to a great extent, the order of the day. This grew out of the state of society here at that time. Persons had obtained the Connecticut title for their lands, made some improvement on them, and then finding that their titles were insecure, and becoming discouraged by the obstacles which must be overcome, and many being without families, they either abandoned their possessions or sold them for what they could get and removed beyond the contested territory. Others finding tracts better suited to their wants, sold out their first settlement and took title elsewhere. Some of these changes will be noted in their proper place. Notwithstanding these civil commotions, transient settlers and frequent removals, the improvement of the country and the development of its resources were more rapid than ever before. At first the people all clustered about the old Indian town, and occupied scarcely any ground beyond the plantations annexed to it; and at the close of the last chapter we find every house either on those grounds or in sight of them. There had been but little, if any, encroachment made upon the wilderness. Each settler occupied his small farm, as large perhaps as he then had the means to cultivate, but not large enough to meet the prospective wants of his family. Accordingly a more expansive policy began to be adopted; larger farms were purchased, and the new settlers located themselves at favorable points farther up the river and along the Wyalusing creek. Also the great pumpkin flood, the destruction which attended it, and the suffering which followed it, made the people fearful of depending upon the river flats exclusively for their supplies. Accordingly new openings began to be made in the forests, new houses to be built, and new soil to be put under cultivation. Owing to the great scarcity and inferior character of their agricultural implements, the small number of laborers and the instability of most of the settlers to

hire them, the clearing and cultivation was very different from that which now prevails. The great object of the new comer was to provide for the immediate necessities of his family. As many trees were felled as possible, others were barked, and as soon as the leaves were dry a fire was kindled in the thick boughs of the fallen trees, which so completely consumed the underbrush and the smaller limbs of the girdled trees, and left the soil so light that the ground was ready for planting or sowing without any further preparation than removing the partially consumed trunks of the fallen trees. To do this work the settler not unfrequently invited the assistance of his neighbors, who, with their oxen soon removed the logs and placed his fallow in the ordinary state of cultivation. At these "logging bees" the hard labor was often interspersed with the telling of stories, running, jumping, wrestling, to say nothing of the rougher sports among the younger ones, at which, stimulated by the ordinary emulation amongst young men, and by sundry draughts from the never missing demijohn, they put forth their best efforts in these athletic sports. The old men relate with great glee, many amusing incidents which attended these neighborly gatherings in the new settlement.

Among the permanent settlers of this year (1787), was Thomas Lewis. He was from New London, Connecticut, where he was born, April 11, 1745, the eldest of four children. May 20, 1768, he married Mary Turrel, of whom mention was made in the historical discourse. He served for some time as a soldier in the war of the Revolution, was engaged in the battle of Ticonderoga, and was in the army that invaded Canada; but his term of enlistment having expired before reaching Quebec, he, with others returned home. In May 1787 he came to Wyalusing and lived near the place occupied by Lieutenant Wells previous to the Revolution. In June of

the same year, his daughter was married to Amasa Wells, and in the August following, Justus, the only survivor of his children, was born. The next year, 1788, he moved his family four miles up the Wyalusing on a tract purchased of Warum Kingsley, and named his settlement Merryall, in memory of his old home in Connecticut; where he died in February 1810. Mr. Lewis may justly be called the pioneer on the Wyalusing, as he was the first to bring his family and make himself a home so far in the wilderness. His life, though possessing but few incidents differing from many others, was spent in the hard toil and peaceful pursuits of agriculture, and in the enjoyment of the quiet and peace of his own family, to whom he left a name of unblemished integrity and uprightness.

Reuben, Amasa and Guy, sons of Lieutenant James Wells, came to Wyalusing in the same boat which brought up the Lewis family, and occupied the place held by their father previous to the Revolution. Reuben, of whom mention has been made in another place, moved up the Wyalusing next below Mr. Lewis, whence he removed to Bridewater, Susquehanna County, where he died at a very advanced age. Amasa moved on the place afterward owned by Elijah Camp, where he lived until 1817, when he removed near LeRaysville, where he died in 1836, at the age of 71 years. He was a man held in high esteem for his many virtues and christian character. Under the old militia law he was made a Major and performed his duties acceptably.

Guy Wells was born in New London, Connecticut, the old home of the Wells family, in 1766, and in 1790 was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Perrin Ross, who was killed in the battle of Wyoming. Mr. Wells moved up the Wyalusing and built the house afterward occupied by Elisha Lewis, where he died in 1828. About the year 1800, the townships of Brain-

trim and Wyalusing were united in one election district, and Guy Wells was chosen justice of the peace. He continued to hold the office until 1825, so that he well earned the title esquire, by which he was designated, and left an honorable testimony to his character for judgment and integrity as well as to the respect in which he was held by the people of his neighborhood. David Shoemaker and Thomas Wigton, brothers-in-law to Major Gaylord, were among the settlers of this period, the former living at Porterville and the latter on the farm now occupied by Seth Homet. Whether Mr. Wigton resided here before the Revolutionary war is uncertain, but as he was one of the original proprietors of Springfield, it is probable that he was here among the first settlers. He was quite a speculator in lands under the Connecticut title, a school teacher for some time, and engaged in various enterprises, none of which, however, resulted in any very great pecuniary benefit to him.

In the latter part of this year, 1787, John Franklin was arrested for high treason, on account of the active measures in which he was engaged to organize a new State out of the Susquehanna company's purchase; and the next year Timothy Pickering was taken by the friends of Franklin and for some time held by them as a hostage for the release of their leader. The excitement and disturbances which grew out of these violent proceedings had a tendency to check emigration to the upper part of the valley and so interfered with the domestic tranquility of the people that no trials were attempted at the sessions of the Court for the first terms of this year. The only business of which there is record is the appointment of officers and dividing the county into election districts. Oliver Dodge was made constable, and Elijah Buck and Isaac Hancock overseers of the poor. The first election district extended from the State line to where the road crosses Roswell Franklin's

saw-mill creek, in Wysox; the second to the mouth of the Wyalusing; the third to Tagues creek, and each of them extended east and west across the county. It will be observed that by this arrangement the settlement of Wyalusing was cut in two, much to the inconvenience of the people. At the September term of the Court, Wyalusing was represented by Justus Gaylord and Joseph Elliott on the grand jury, and at this same term the commission was appointed to lay out all necessary roads in Springfield township.

Jonas Ingham, who was the first settler on the Wyalusing above the Lewises, was born in Bucks county in 1746, of Quaker parentage, and by trade a clothier. In 1777 and 1778 he was in active service as a militia man; first as Lieutenant, then as Captain. In his journal, from which I shall quote at some length, he says: "During the months of November, December and January, we suffered much with cold, lying out of doors on the ground the whole time, with nothing to cover us, but each of us a single blanket. I was at the battle called the Gulph Mills, and so afraid of being called a coward, that I was among the last left on the battle ground; and I was very near being taken prisoner." He remained in Bucks county for some time after the war, but in 1789 he determined to change his residence. His journal says: "I traveled northward toward Wyoming, that had lately been esteemed a hostile Indian country, and noted for the wars between Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Wyoming then was but thinly inhabited, the land along the river flat, wide and extensive, and very rich. I traveled up the Susquehanna, following the course of the river—found it had been traveled very little, hardly a plain track, and this very crooked and hard to follow—quite impassable for more than a man and a single horse. Along the edges of the precipices, next the river, and other places I

had to ascend and descend from one ledge of rocks to another some feet perpendicular, at a great height from the water, and in some places exceedingly dangerous. The habitations of man were very few, and the inhabitants instead of being glad to converse with strangers or travelers, would hardly speak to them. When I would ask them concerning the way they would hardly give me an answer. The chief they would say : ' Take any road, you can't miss the way.' I had occasion to lodge three nights among these kind of people before I reached Wyalusing. When I arrived at Wyalusing I saw the remains of an old Indian settlement, and but few habitations of the present settlers, although there were more than I saw." Remaining at Wyalusing over night he went six miles up the creek "through very thick woods, to where there were signs of an Indian improvement and a hunter's cabin." This tract he took up and thought to hold under the confirming law,* but that law being soon repealed, left him without title ; he then took out a Connecticut title, thinking this better than none. He says, "I took possession of the hunter's cabin and lived in it the greatest part of five or six summers from 1789-1795. The nearest house to me was three miles, (that of Mr. Lewis) where I went to get victuals." "After the repeal of the confirming law, the settling of land under Pennsylvania title was little thought of, and the inhabitants had frequent meetings. At Tioga Point, at one of them, I expressed myself with so much spirit on the subject of the repeal of the confirming law, that they saw fit to choose me one of their directors. After this I was requested to deliver a discourse on the Fourth of July, (1801) to include this subject. The discourse I delivered

* The confirming law passed March 28, 1788, provided "That all the said rights or lots now lying in the county of Luzerne, which were occupied or acquired by Connecticut claimants who were actual settlers there at or before the termination of the claim of the State of Connecticut by the [Trenton] decree, aforesaid, and which rights or lots were particularly assigned to the said settlers prior to the said decree, agreeable to the regulations then in force among them, be and they are hereby confirmed to them and their heirs and assigns." This law was repealed April 1, 1790.

pleased the people very much, who were now settling under Connecticut title, and the Legislature of Pennsylvania was passing very severe laws against them, as the Intrusion laws and Territorial act, and the people were very much harrassed by them."

In 1804 he was chosen, as he says, very unexpectedly to himself, to represent Luzerne county in the State Legislature, and through his efforts the obnoxious laws above referred to, were repealed. The next year the whole settlement was thrown into a ferment by an ejectment suit being brought against Mr. Ingham, which was finally terminated by purchasing the Pennsylvania title. The next year after, (1806) as Mr. Robinson, a well-known surveyor, was tracing the Dundee Manor line, some of the people near Camptown fearing that this was done to dispossess them of their lands, determined to stop the survey. Here we will let Mr. Ingham tell the story: "The inhabitants in the settlement were all of them very averse to any surveys being made, for fear of ejectments, and thereby furnishing the means for land owners to prove their rights. Some of them queried with me what kind of opposition to make. I told them to make any kind of opposition they pleased, only to kill and hurt nobody, nor let anybody appear in arms. When this surveyor came, a great many of the inhabitants collected, some in the woods shooting, others around the surveyor, threatening him. I was afraid some worse mischief would happen, so I ordered some one to break the compass or I would. Upon this, one of the company broke the compass, and the surveyor went away; and not a great while afterwards, a United States officer was sent to arrest those who stopped the surveyor and broke his compass, and four* of them were taken and had to go to Philadelphia. I

*Three of these were Major Wells, Job Camp and John Lewis. With genuine Yankee spirit they engaged to assist Sheriff Wheeler in conveying another prisoner to Philadelphia, for which they received enough to pay their expenses.

went with them to excuse them, and take their part and defend them as well as I could. Accordingly when they appeared before the Court, in the representation which I made to the lawyer who spoke for me, I took all the blame upon myself. I stated the case as it really was. I said the people were ignorant and only did what I bid them, which I thought was better than might have happened otherwise. This the lawyer stated to the Court in a few words, then expatiated largely on the commendable part I had acted. Before he was done, another lawyer got up and addressed the Court, and said he was perfectly well acquainted with me and that I was a very good man. Thus, contrary to my expectations, I received great honor and applause, when I apprehended I should receive severe censure and reprimand, as the encourager and ringleader of outlaws. They were all dismissed to go home about their business with only paying the cost."

Subsequently Mr. Ingham entered into an extensive correspondence with the Pennsylvania claimants of the land, for the purpose of obtaining from them some adjustment of the title which the Connecticut people would accept. But in this his efforts were unavailing. The result was, that many bitter controversies ensued, and the prosperity of the community was greatly retarded. As illustrating the spirit in which this controversy was carried on the following anecdote may be in point. Ezekiel, son of Thomas Brown, held a tract of land under Connecticut title, and after he had occupied it some time and made some improvement, a gentleman came to his house and informed him that he, the stranger, owned that land; to which Mr. Brown replied, that if he owned any land there, it was seven feet below the surface, and casting a glance toward his rifle, added unless he was gone immediately, he would be put in possession of it. The stranger took the hint and left.

Mr. Ingham died suddenly in Bloomsburg, N. J., October 28, 1820. In a notice of him Mr. Miner says: "Possessing an unusual share of philanthropy, and a mind highly cultivated by scientific research, he steadfastly espoused the cause of the settlers, in that part of their country, and his virtues and usefulness acquired for him their confidence and esteem, which he continued to enjoy through the remainder of his life. He was a republican in deed and in truth, a model of temperance and a promoter of the peace and harmony of society." The descendants of Mr. Ingham continue to reside in this and adjoining townships.

About 1790, the Terrys, Uriah and Parshall, came to Wyalusing and lived for a time on the bank near the junction of the creek with the river. Uriah, though advanced in life, grave and sedate in deportment, took a deep interest in matters of education, and in the winter of 1792-3 commenced a school in the house of Major Gaylord. The following spring the log school house was built near where the Presbyterian church now stands, and on its completion, the school was moved into it. This, so far as can now be learned, was the first school taught in Wyalusing, and the first school house built in the township. This house was burned down, and another which was also burned, was built of hewed logs and stood just in front of the cemetery. This school was long before the era of public schools, when every parent educated his own children as a religious duty, and sought every opportunity to avail himself of all the advantages within his reach. The master was paid by a small fee charged to each scholar, which varied from a bushel of corn to a bushel of wheat per quarter. Who succeeded Uriah Terry in the school at Wyalusing, I have been unable to learn.

Parshall Terry was as deeply interested on the Connecticut

side of the land controversy as any man in the township, and exerted himself as earnestly to induce Connecticut settlers to come into the valley. He was in constant correspondence and perfect sympathy with Jenkins, Franklin, and others of that class, who sincerely believed in the justice of their claims, and had perfect confidence that when those claims were fairly tried they would be fully allowed. In 1792 he went to Terrytown, where he remained until his title was set aside under the compromise acts, when he left the State and went to New York where he died.

About 1791 Benjamin Ackley first came into the township, remaining here a part of the time until November, 1793, when he moved his family here and lived in a log house where Elisha Lewis' house now stands. He was the first regular blacksmith in the township, and until he arrived there was none nearer than Blackwalnut. Mr. Ackley was born in Litchfield county, Connecticut, in 1769. His first wife was Nancy Maxfield, to whom he was married in 1780. She having died he married Amy, daughter of Thomas Lewis in 1812. In 1813 he was commissioned Justice of the Peace and held the office for ten years. He died in Wyalusing in 1855. Mr. Ackley reared a large family of children, many of whom still reside in the township. It is worthy of note that somewhat later than the period now under consideration, there were four families living upon one square mile, who collectively numbered upwards of sixty children, viz: John Hollenback, Major Taylor, Mr. Buck and Mr. Ackley.

On the 4th of May, 1775, Henry Pawling, a wealthy gentleman of Montgomery county, purchased a tract consisting of 652 acres of land of Job Chillaway, the Indian chief to whom Gov. Penn had granted the lands on which the mission was located.* Pawling was not only a man of wealth and influence,

*This is nearly the same as the Hogsboon pitch of the Connecticut survey. Penn's warrant to Chillaway is dated March 2, 1774. Most likely the survey was made earlier.

but was warmly enlisted on the side of Congress, and contributed largely to the support of the American army during that trying winter of its encampment at Valley Forge, and enjoyed the confidence of the Commander-in-chief. About 1786 his daughter Catherine was married to Joseph Stalford, and Mr. Pawling having bequeathed to her a large portion of his Wyalusing lands, the Stalfords removed here in the spring of 1792. Samuel Stalford, the father of Joseph, was born in the parish of Tipperary, Ireland, 1718. While quite a young man he emigrated to this country, married Elizabeth Richardson of Philadelphia, removed first to Montgomery county, and then to Wyalusing, where he died in 1802. Joseph Stalford died in Wyalusing in 1801, in the 47th year of his age. His family for the most part have remained on the old place, and are among the few families who for more than three-fourth's of a century have cultivated the same soil and become identified with the history of the township. In 1795, Joseph Stalford had the highest valuation of any man in the present township.

In 1792, Job Camp came to Wyalusing, planted a piece of corn, and after it was harvested, returned to Connecticut for his family, moved in the next year, and settled at Camptown, which was then a dense, unbroken wilderness. At this time, there were beside Jonas Ingham, two or three families above him on the creek. As illustrating the difficulties which the early settlers experienced in their emigration to the country, the case of Mr. Camp is in point. He started from Connecticut with a yoke of oxen, which were used to transport his family and goods. Taking the usual course of the emigrants, across the country from the Hudson to Stroudsburg, and through the great swamp, they reached the Susquehanna at Pittston. The route was a slow and toilsome one, but thus far

there was a road along which they could drive a team, but up the river there was nothing but the narrow Indian path. They were therefore compelled to unyoke their oxen and drive them along singly. The cart, younger members of the family, and household goods were then placed on a keel-boat, and two men were hired to push it up the river to Wyalusing. The progress was slow and the labor severe, and several days were necessary for the trip. It took all of Mr. Camp's crop of corn raised the preceeding year to pay the boatmen, and the family were obliged to get along as best they could until another crop was harvested. Mr. Camp was by trade a carpenter, and the year he moved in, built a large barn for Mr. Lewis, the first erected on the Wyalusing. In 1795, he built a barn for himself, which is still standing. This barn is covered with boards split out of pine logs, and are fastened on with wrought nails made by Solomon Bosworth, who had moved up the Wyalusing. Speaking of the Camp family, they are said to have decended from a Welch cabin-boy who came over in the Mayflower. The family was numerous and have all lived to a great age. William, son of Job, relates many anecdotes of the wolves and panthers who made havoc among their flocks, whose howlings made nightly music about their dwellings, and whose depredations added no little to the distress experienced by these early settlers.

It is difficult to estimate the amount of courage and fortitude possessed by these pioneers, who could bring their families into such a wilderness, forsaking nearly every comfort, braving toil and danger, suffering frequently from hunger, living in cabins which afforded but the merest shelter, with but few social advantages, or religious or educational privileges; and hew out for themselves homes in the forest, and rear up their families to respectability, wealth and influence; nor can

we wonder, when after having made for themselves a comparatively comfortable home on lands purchased in good faith, they should resist with all their might the claims of land speculators, who under the color of law, sought to drive them from their dearly bought possessions, and turn them and their families naked and homeless again into the wilderness.

Wyalusing being more than fifty miles distant from the older settlements in the Wyoming valley, upon which the inhabitants were dependent for many of their necessary supplies, and their only means of communication being either along the narrow bridle path, which Mr. Ingham has so well described, or by the river, the people were often subject to great inconvenience, especially with regard to their grinding. Families were frequently without flour or fine meal for weeks at a time, and meanwhile obliged to depend exclusively upon their samp-morters, which consisted of a log one end of which was burned out in the center, using for a pestle a stone suspended from a neighboring sapling. In this rude affair the corn could be sufficiently broken for making samp and coarse cakes, which formed the principal article of diet for most of the inhabitants here for several years. Families were thus in many instances compelled to subsist on food no better than that which now many a farmer feeds his stock.

The Susquehanna Company ever anxious for the welfare of the settlers, offered a township of land to the one who should build the first mill in Springfield township. This offer was accepted by Samuel Gordon, who in 1793* built his mill near the site of the present Lewis mill on the Wyalusing, about three miles from the river.

Mr. Gordon was born near Ballebay, in the county of Mon-

*In Mr. Gordon's Day Book, now in possession of Harrison Lamb, his grandson, there is this note: "June 25, 1793. This day I raised my mill." It did not get in operation until the next year.

aghan, Ireland, in 1740. He was of Scotch descent, of good family, education and property. He left his native country accompanied by two brothers, one of whom, James Gordon, subsequently settled near Standing Stone, and a young man named Gillespie, during some difficulties in that country, at which time their property was confiscated. For a time Mr. Gordon followed the sea, after which he settled in Elizabeth, N.J., where he married Mrs. Jane Gillespie, widow of his late fellow passenger across the Atlantic. Afterwards he moved to Wyoming, and during the years of 1776 and 1777 spent some time in the neighborhood of Wyalusing, making surveys under direction of the Susquehanna company. On the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, Mr. Gordon retired to New Jersey, where he remained until 1792, when he again entered into the employment of the Susquehanna company as a surveyor, and at the same time operated quite extensively as a land dealer. His mill which was commenced soon after, consisted of one run of home-made stone, without bolts, was built under great difficulties arising from the scarcity of money in the settlement and the want of experienced workmen; while all of the iron used in its construction was transported from Wilkes-Barre at much trouble and expense. The mill being completed, on the first of May, 1795, the township of Walsingham was surveyed to Mr. Gordon, according to previous stipulation. He was also one of the proprietors of Stephensburg, but owing to the invalidity of Connecticut titles in these townships, he failed to receive any advantage from these possessions. Even the mill which had cost him so much, was lost through the same defect in the title. Two persons by the name of Porter, purchased the Pennsylvania title for the land on which it was built and Mr. Gordon becoming alarmed for the validity of his claim, as additional security, was induced to take a lease of the lands under the Porters and this acknowledgement of their claim,

lost him the property, which the commissioners in 1804 assigned to the Porters. Mr. Gordon was therefore compelled to vacate the land and leave his improvements made at so much sacrifice. This is but a single instance out of many, where this complication of title led to like disastrous results, by which families, once in comfortable circumstances, were suddenly reduced to poverty. On the organization of the township Mr. Gordon was appointed clerk, and for many years the records, which are beautifully written, were kept by him. He died in Wyalusing in 1810, where his only surviving daughter, who has furnished most of the facts in this sketch, erected a stone to his memory.

Soon after the completion of Mr. Gordon's grist mill, Joseph C. Town, a carpenter by trade, came to Wyalusing and put up a saw mill on the creek near where Mr. Aaron Culver now lives. This contributed largely to the welfare of the settlement. Previous to this boards were split out of pine logs from four to six feet long. The process was slow and expensive, although suitable pine trees were abundant. In 1798 Mr. Town erected a grist mill at the same place, of superior construction to that of Mr. Gordon's, and containing a bolt for making flour. This, however, was swept away by a freshet in the creek in the spring of 1800 or 1801. Mr. Town was from Conn., and married a sister of Frances Slocum. Mrs. Town went west with her brother in search of their lost sister, and the frequent visits of the Slocum family at Mr. Town's, made all of the older people here familiar with the story of the capture and discovery of Frances, to which allusion has been made in another place.

At the beginning of the troubles in France which culminated in the Revolution, many who sympathized with the royal party, fled from their native country to various parts of Eu-

rope and America. Of these Viscount Louis M. De Noailles and Omar Talon, who had been connected with the royal household, went first to England, and then to the United States. In Philadelphia they met with Robert Morris and John Nicholson who were in possession of large tracts of uncultivated land in Pennsylvania, with whom they formed an association known as the Asylum and Holland Land company, and increased their estates to a million of acres. Their first colony was planted on Shewfelt flats, which from the fact that it was peopled mostly by refugees from France, received the name of Asylum, a name it has ever since retained. It is on the right bank of the Susquehanna, near the upper limits of the old Wyalusing township, and in the present township of Asylum. In December, 1793, the first houses were erected, and within a year and a half, there were some twenty or twenty-five families there, several of whom were persons of note in their own country, some having been connected with the royal household, and others engaged in the public service of the kingdom. A colony of such persons, whose business relations threw them into immediate contact with the people here, could not fail to exert upon them a marked influence. Previous to the planting of the colony there was scarcely a dollar of money in the township—all exchanges being carried on by barter. This cumbersome mode of exchange was attended with great loss and inconvenience to all parties, and served to greatly retard the progress of the settlement. The refugees brought with them considerable sums of money; the colony afforded a market for grain and cattle. The colonists immediately commenced constructing superior roads, erecting manufactories and comfortable houses, and engaged laborers to assist in clearing and cultivating their lands. By these means their money soon came into general circulation. At that time there were no mails to these distant settlements, and the

French established a line of expresses to Philadelphia, by means of which the inhabitants along the route were brought into nearer contact with the outer world. The habits and manners of refined society which the refugees maintained even in their new colony, were not without a genial influence upon the ruder people that surrounded them; so that although their ignorance of the language and customs of the people in the settlements was a bar to free intercourse, yet their advent proved to be an era in the development of this new country, and their influence was felt for years afterward. Under the stimulus of their example, enterprise and refinement, aided by the gold and silver they had put in circulation, similar improvements were commenced by the people around them; roads were opened, mills were built, farms and houses were improved, new articles of furniture were introduced, better agricultural implements were used, the rough and uncouth habits of border life began to yield to the more refined intercourse of a higher civilization. The colony existed only a few years and never met the hopes of its founders. When liberty was granted the refugees to return to France, they gladly accepted the offer, leaving the most of their improvements in the possession of two or three families who chose to cast their fortunes in this new land, and whose descendants are among the best farmers of this and adjoining townships.*

About 1794-95 Major Gaylord built the first distillery in the township near where Henry Gaylord now lives. The use and traffic in ardent spirits were then regarded in a very different way from what they now are. Then alcoholic drinks were looked upon as an absolute necessity. They were the medicine for the sick and the help for the well. No one thought of engaging in any work, going on a journey, or re-

*The author hopes in a short time to give the public through the Bradford County Historical Society, a more detailed account of the French at Asylum.

ceiving friends without a supply of the needful article. This was the prevailing habit with the best men in the country. Every man kept it in his house, and every merchant in his store and sold it as readily as he would now sell sugar or molasses, and the man who run a distillery was regarded as contributing largely to the best interests of the community, by making a market for the grain, and at the same time supplying the inhabitants with a most necessary article: Within a few years after, there were no less than five distilleries at one time in the township.

The organization of the Presbyterian church at Wyalusing during this period, has been spoken of at length and need not now be repeated. When the first white people came to Wyalusing, and for many years afterward the only roads were the narrow Indian paths along the river and up the creek. About the commencement of the Revolution this path had been widened and improved, but was still narrow and difficult. In Sept. 1788, on the petition of sundry persons at Wyalusing a committee were appointed to lay out all needful roads in Springfield township. In June, 1790, this committee reported a view and survey of two roads, one following nearly the course of the present old stage road to Towanda, and the other extending some two miles further up the creek. In Jan., 1795, another committee was appointed who laid out a road from Miner York's to the forks of the Wyalusing, where at this time there were a few families settled. Mr. Ingham has given an account of the roads in 1789, and in 1795 they were not much better. The country being covered with dense forests, it was almost impossible to make the road passable. Duke De la Rochfoucault Liancourt, a French nobleman who passed through here in May, 1795, has given a description of the journey which will convey to the reader a good idea of the roads at the close of the period under consideration. He

says: "The road was bad, and we were several times obliged to travel in foot-paths which were hardly passable. We frequently met with quarries of mill-stone (?) and with spots, where a path only eighteen inches in breadth was cut through the rock, or where the road was supported by trunks of trees, narrowed by falls of earth, obstructed by fallen trees, and led along the edge of a precipice. * * At times the road is even and good, often recently cut through the wood or interrupted by new settlements, [clearings] the fences of which occasion a circuit of near a furlong, at the end of which it is difficult to find the road again. We often passed over declivities, rendered more dangerous by the ground being strewed with loose stones or fragments of rocks. Fortunately it so happened that we never got more than a few rods out of our road, but we were obliged to enquire of every one we met to avoid more considerable detention."

At the close of 1795, there were about forty-five or fifty families within the present limits of the township. These were scattered along the river from Browntown to Fairbanks, a distance of about six miles, and about the same distance up the creek.* To these were assessed about eight thousand acres of land, of which excepting the mission lands, but little if any more than one-fifth were cultivated. The people occupied log houses in a few of which the logs were hewed and dovetailed together, but in the greater number the logs were left round and barely notched at the corners, the interstices filled with mud, and the roof covered with unshaved shingles. One room below and the loft, to which access was had by a ladder from the outside, were the extent of the accommodations; while the low, narrow door, the six lighted window, and the great fireplace were its principal sources of comfort. In-

*At this time settlements had been made up the Wyalusing as far as the forks.

to these rude cabins the rains and sunshine, the winds and snows found free access, and yet these narrow and uncomfortable abodes were the only residences in the township for many years. The first framed buildings were a small shop put up by Robert Lattimore near where Mr. Bixby's house now stands, and the dwelling erected by Joseph Stalford.

Occasionally the settler had a log barn, and more frequently a shed covered with straw for the protection of his stock. Many of the families here were of the very best that New England could furnish, who in that spirit of enterprise which has ever characterized the people of that region, came here for the purpose of making a home for themselves and for their families, while others were of a roving dissolute class, such as always hang upon border settlements, who contribute but little, if anything, to the general good of the community.

The following is the description given by the French traveler, who was mentioned above: "The dwelling houses in this district are most of them so new that the inhabitants are often ignorant of the names of places which are scarce two miles distant, so that their information beyond the next farm house is not to be depended upon. There is not one inn on the whole road [from Wilkes-Barrie to Asylum] but some private individuals are in the habit of selling oats to travelers. They live at certain distances, and being known, travelers constantly put up at their houses." As to the sort of entertainment these houses afforded the following is a specimen: "We found in this house (Hunt's at Hunt's Ferry) indian corn for our horses, but neither oats nor hay, and no milk for ourselves, nor even an egg. Beds were not to be had." The next day the Duke goes on to say, "In the morning we halted at one Mr. Gaylord's. All the dwelling houses are of the same sort. We pursued our journey to Asylum by Wyalusing.

The latter is a considerable village, seated on a creek from which it takes its name." This is the only village mentioned in the whole route from Wilkes-Barre to Tioga, except Asylum, thus incidentally confirming what has been said of the importance of Wyalusing in our early history.

The habits of the people were simple and their wants few and easily supplied. Corn bread and venison were the almost exclusive articles of diet. Most of the wheat was sent to Philadelphia by way of Middletown, to which place it was carried in arks or rafts, and thence by wagons to Philadelphia. The price per bushel was one dollar. Rye was from fifty to seventy cents, and oats from thirty to forty cents per bushel. The lighter articles of clothing were made from flax of which every family raised enough for their own use. The carding, spinning, coloring and weaving were done by the female portion of the household, and each matron exhibited the various articles of home manufacture with as much pride as the present lady of fashion flaunts her gold and jewels. Carpets were unknown, but the white sanded floor of the best room, when there was more than one in the house, displayed the thrift of the housewife. Leather was one of the most difficult articles to be procured, and shoes were a very expensive necessity. In the warm weather almost every one went barefoot, while those who where able to have a pair of shoes for summer use, carefully kept them for special occasions. It was common on Sabbath mornings, to see women and the larger children going to meeting barefoot, shoes in hand, which were put on when near the school house where the meeting was held, and when out of sight of it on their return, were carefully removed, and laid away for use on the next Sabbath. As there were no wagons, people traveled either on foot or on horseback, and it was no strange sight to see the father, mother and perhaps one or two children mounted on a single horse. But few cat-

tle or sheep were raised; of the former on account of the limited extent of their meadows, of the latter on account of imperfect fences around their fields and the great danger experienced from the wolves, which were numerous all around the settlement. The country, for the most part, was covered with pine and hemlock timber, but there were in some places groves of sugar-maple, from whose sap, in the spring, considerable quantities of sugar and molasses were made. In 1795 maple sugar was sold for 14 or 15 cents per pound.

During the first years of the settlement, on account of the sparseness of the population, and the troubled state of the country, no attempt was made to impose taxes upon the people; but in 1795 an assessment was made and a tax levied. This assessment of course covered the whole township, according to the limits before described. From this list as nearly as can now be learned, there were within the present limits of the township 39 taxables* to whom were assessed 7341 acres of land, 19 horses, 86 horned cattle, and 7 slaves, with a valuation of \$10,291. Thus 21 years after the first settlement was begun here, we find the township at length organized and taking its place among the other townships of the Commonwealth. We shall have occasion by-and-by to note the progress which has been made in three-fourths of a century.

*The following is the list of taxables: Benjamin Ackley, Sherman Buck, Gideon Baldwin, Daniel Brown, Humphrey Brown, Richard Baldwin, Stephen Beckwith, Benjamin Crawford, Dr. Jabez Chamberlain, Job Camp, William Dalton, Samuel Gordon, James Gordon, Justus Gaylord, Jr., James Hines, Matthias Hollenback, (non-resident) Isaac Hancock, Nathan Kingsley, Warrum Kingsley, David Lake, Robert Lattimore, Thomas Lewis, Thomas Oviatt, John Ogden, Philip Place, Reuben Place, Zachariah Price, Israel Shear, John Shoemaker, David Shoemaker, Thomas Smiley, Joseph Stalford, John Taylor, Joseph C. Town, Amasa Wells, Guy Wells, Reuben Wells, Nathan Winton, Miner York.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM 1796-1812.

The failure of the scheme for establishing a new State to include the Susquehanna company's purchase having failed, and the enactments of the legislature of Pennsylvania being such as to discourage settlers under Connecticut title, emigration from New England nearly ceased as early as the beginning of the present chapter, and thereafter the settlement of the Susquehanna valley was not almost exclusively from the east.

At the time when the county of Luzerne was constituted, it consisted of eleven townships, but about the year 1800 these townships were divided into twenty-three, and new election districts were defined. In this division out of the old township of Wyalusing, were created those of Braintrim, Wyalusing and Rush, while the two former were united in one election district which contained 225 taxables, and Guy Wells, Jonathan Stevens and H. V. Champin were commissioned justices of the peace for the district. About this time or soon after the elections were held at the house of Major Gaylord. In 1801 John Hollenback came to Wyalusing and bringing with him 2400 pounds of goods, engaged in the merchantile business. Previous to this Mr. Gaylord had kept a few goods for the use of the settlers, and afterward Peter Stevens, who occupied a house nearly opposite the Presbyterian church, had a small store, but neither of them had near the quantity brought up by Mr. Hollenback. His goods were brought in wagons to Middletown, where they were loaded on boats and taken up the river.* Mr. Hollenback had been engaged since

*Mr. Jordan, of Philadelphia, says that he well remembers seeing wagons loaded with goods at his father's store for Wyalusing.

1796 in traffic for his uncle, Matthias Hollenback, who at that time was carrying on an extensive business along the river. In the spring of 1797 the former assisted in opening a shad fishery on the river a little below Wyalusing village, the first opened in this part of the country. In 1801 he rafted the first platform of boards at Town's mill that ever went out of the Wyalusing creek. After his settlement here, he was for many years prominent in the business of the place, which, so far as he was concerned, was conducted with great energy. In the year of Mr. Hollenback's removal here, (1801), there was a grand 4th of July celebration at Wyalusing. Several things contributed to give it interest. First there was the conflict about land titles. And then it was the year of Mr. Jefferson's accession to the Presidency. From the adoption of the Federal Constitution there had been two great political parties in the country, and in 1800 the party which elected Mr. Jefferson had for the first time been successful at the ballot box. The following anniversary of American Independence was seized upon by that party, which was largely in the ascendant here, for a general jubilation. General Washington had died a short time before, and it seemed to be a great consolation to the democrats to have Mr. Jefferson for his successor in the Presidency. All of these things combined to give this first general celebration of American Independence at Wyalusing great interest. People assembled from all parts of the country. Such a gathering had never been witnessed here before. Mr. Hollenback presided at the meeting. Jonas Ingham delivered a spirited address on the subject of "Disputed land titles," in which he defended the claims of the Connecticut settlers, and with great severity characterized the adverse legislation of Pennsylvania as opposed to the liberty guaranteed by the Constitution. Uriah Terry prepared the following on the "Death of Washington," which was sung by

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a young lady named Polly Sill. The piece is inserted not so much for its poetical value, as for its local associations and as indicating the feelings of the dominant party in the country.

THE HERO.

The Hero's dead, mournful the sound!
How large the stroke, how deep the wound!
The man that did his country save,
Lies cold and silent in the grave.
He led our forces on the field,
He made the bold, presumptuous, yield,
He fought the foe on every side,
And bravely humbled Briton's pride.

Can we forget th' impending stroke,
When galled beneath the British yoke?
Great Washington, 'twas he, 'twas he
That lead us through that bloody sea.
Perhaps his rival can't be found
Above the surface of the ground;
His fame has spread from shore to shore,
But now, alas! he is no more.

Ancient Rome nor Ancient Greece,
In time of war nor time of peace,
With all their boasted sons of fame,
Had not a more illustrious name.
Friendship and love shone in his face,
Virtue and truth he did embrace,
He kindly soothed and hushed our fears,
And gently wiped our falling tears.

But plaintive Muse, forbear to sigh,
For Washington was born to die;
He ever was his country's friend,
But Washington must have an end.
And must it be, since he is dead,
'That all our happiness has fled?
Behold the glorious change of late!
Sec^t. Jefferson in chair of State!

Great talents in this man were found,
A piercing wit, a judgment sound,
A genius like the noonday bright,
Dispelling darkness from the sight.
We hope in Jefferson to find
A father, gracious, good and kind;
We trust he will protect our land,
We yield to him both heart and hand.

We bid him welcome to his seat,
Nor do we doubt but we shall meet
With every favor he can give,
That's fit for subjects to receive.
Hail happy day of jubilee,
That still proclaims us to be free!
Kind and benign it all appears,
Then banish all foreboding fears.

See Liberty with all her charms,
Caressed and smiling in his arms!
Behold his ever outstretched hand,
Willing to guard our pleasant land!
His heart and hands and lips agree
To settle firm our liberty;
Sometimes a cloud will intervene,
But soon again, the sun is seen.

Dear liberty was his delight,
He ever kept it fair in sight;
Dear liberty, that lovely flower
That shone so bright in Eden's bower.
His soul disdained a golden bribe,
Abhorred that pride, despotic pride,
Which rankling in the breast of knaves
Would make us all to be its slaves.

But heaven be thanked, the bud is nipped!
The towering eagle wings are clipped,
They will not freedom overwhelm
Since Jefferson has took the helm.
May heaven protect him all his life,
Preserve him free from war and strife,
Long may he live in peace and love,
Then happy be in heaven above.

Those who are familiar with the contemporary history of the county cannot fail to understand the allusions of the last stanza. The whole celebration ended with a barbecue. A huge bear killed that morning and roasted whole, afforded the entertainment.

Mr. Hollenback was prominent in many of the enterprises of the neighborhood. He died in Wyalusing in 1867, at the age of ninety-one years.

In 1803 a mail route was opened from Wilkes-Barre to Tioga, a post-office was established at Wyalusing, and Mr. Hollenback was appointed postmaster. Charles Mowery and Cyril Peck (the first husband of Urania Stalford,) carried the mail on foot once in two weeks, there being no roads adapted for any better conveyance. In 1810 Conrad Teter contracted to carry the mail in coaches once a week from Wilkes-Barre to Painted Post, via Wyalusing and Tioga. This was the beginning of stage-coach traveling so familiar to the people of this valley for more than half a century. About the time Teter took the route Major Taylor succeeded Mr. Hollenback as postmaster.

In 1799 on account of troubles existing between the United States and France, a call was made for volunteers, and Mr. Hollenback enlisted as 2nd Sergeant in the company of Capt. Bowman of the 11th United States Infantry regiment, and was appointed recruiting officer. He succeeded in obtaining fourteen recruits at Wyalusing* and fifty-eight at Wysox and Tioga Point. The company was mustered out June 14, 1800, without ever being called into active military service. On the 28th of June, 1803, a man named John Dalton, living on the Wyalusing, near Merryall, met a neighbor, Amos Hulburt, a

*The list I have not been able to find so as to identify all the names—those that could be identified as belonging to Wyalusing are therefore omitted.

son-in-law of Samuel Gordon, near Town's mill, and some words passed between them, when Dalton, (who was returning from a field where he had been hoeing corn,) struck Hulburt on the head with his hoe, with such force as to fracture the skull. Hulburt died on the 5th of July. Dalton was arrested and committed by Guy Wells to jail at Wilkes-Barre, where he was indicted for voluntary manslaughter at the sessions of court held August 16, 1803, and the next day was convicted of murder in the second degree and on the 19th sentenced to confinement and hard labor in the Penitentiary at Philadelphia for eighteen years. In 1811 he was reprieved by Gov. McKean but died soon after. This was the first high crime committed in the township.

In 1804 a party of gentlemen among whom was Wilson the ornithologist, passed up the North Branch valley on a tour of observation, and gave a rhyming description of their trip which under the title of *THE FORESTERS*, was published in the *Portfolio*, of Philadelphia, a monthly of considerable importance as a literary paper, of which the following extract describes Wyalusing as it appeared nine or ten years after the Duke De la Rochefoucault traveled through here. The narrator says :

"The morning dawned, again we took the road,
Each musquet shouldered o'er the lightened load ;
Through Wihaloosing's plains we gailey pass
Midst matted fields of rank luxuriant grass.
Here, nature bounteous to excess has been,
Yet loitering hunters scarce a living gleam,
Blest with a soil, that e'en in winter gay,
Would all their toils a hundred fold repay ;
Few cultured fields of yellow grain appear ;
Rich fenceless pastures not unheeded here.
Huge from the vale the towering walnuts* grow
And wave o'er wretched huts that lie below.
No blossoming orchards scent the opening May,
No bleating flocks upon their pastures play."

*These have now nearly all disappeared. Among the last were those cut for the lumber to finish the interior of the Presbyterian church.

Several times in the course of this narrative, allusion has been made to the dispute between the States of Connecticut and Pennsylvania about the title to the soil and jurisdiction of the valley of the North Branch. This dispute was referred to Congress, who appointed a committee to decide the question, which was done at Trenton, Dec. 30, 1782, giving to Pennsylvania the right of jurisdiction and pre-emption to the disputed territory. This *decree* as it was called, was variously interpreted by the contending parties, Pennsylvania holding that by it she was put into such complete possession of the tract, that before the Connecticut settlers could have any claim to the land they must obtain title through her; the Susquehanna company claiming that while the *jurisdiction* was given to Pennsylvania, it did not affect the *title by which the land was held by its present occupants*, that the transfer of territory from one State to another did not affect the rights, title, nor interests of the inhabitants of that territory. The result was that for twenty years after the Decree of Trenton, the whole Susquehanna valley was in a constant ferment over the questions which grew out of this controversy. What made matters still worse, the Commonwealth seemed to have no fixed policy for dealing with the subject. Sometimes the attempt was made to coerce the settlers to purchase the Pennsylvania title or leave the territory, at other times more conciliatory measures would be adopted, which the settlers fearing were intended to entrap them, generally refused to accede to. At length in 1799 the Compromising law, as it was called, was passed, which provided that in seventeen townships, according to the Survey of Susquehanna Company, titles granted by that company and occupied previous to the Trenton decree, should be accounted valid on the occupant paying a small fee to the State, while the Pennsylvania claimant was to receive a certain compensation in case he released his claim to the

Commonwealth. Under this act commissioners were appointed, who caused the lands in these townships to be resurveyed, examined claims, appraised the valuation and confirmed the titles to the settlers. The commissioners began their work in Springfield in July, 1803, but all the claims were not arranged before 1808. They confirmed under Connecticut title thirty shares and under Pennsylvania title four shares, taken previous to December 30, 1782.* It is now impossible to trace the chain of title from the occupants in 1808 back to the original proprietors. As the certificate from the committee was regarded as amply sufficient without the Connecticut title, the latter has in most instances been lost. Thus after nearly thirty years was this unhappy controversy brought to an end.

In 1805 JONATHAN STEVENS moved into Wyalusing, where he remained for some time keeping a small store and tavern in a house which stood near where Mrs. Welles now lives, known as the Peter Stevens house and built by Guy Wells. The Stevens family were of English descent. Having taken part in the Revolution by which Charles I was brought to the block, on the restoration of the kingdom to Charles II, they fled to New England, their property being confiscated and their lives threatened. Asa Stevens, the father of Jonathan, was born in Plainfield, Conn., May, 1734, and was among the first emigrants into the Wyoming valley, where he held several offices. He was a Lieutenant in the army at the time of the Indian battle and was killed in that fatal engagement. Jonathan, his second son, was born at Canterbury, Conn., July, 1764, consequently was fourteen years of age at his father's

*The share-holders were Joseph Ingham, 2; Justus Gaylord, 3; Joshua Keeney, 2; — Keeney, 1; Henry Elsworth, 3; Samuel Gibbon, 2; M. Hollenback, 8; Thomas Wigton, 2; Eleaser Blackman, 2; Lucretia York, 2; Township Committee, 3; Anderson Dana, $\frac{1}{2}$; Jno. Taylor, 1-6; Humphrey Brown, $\frac{1}{4}$; — under Pa., heirs of Henry Pawling, 8. The commissioners were Thomas Cooper, John M. Taylor, and Alexander Scott. The surveyor, George Haines.

death. The family, with the other fugitives, went back to Connecticut after the battle. When sixteen years of age he enlisted in the army of the Revolution, where he served for three years, when he was honorably discharged. In October, 1785, he married Eleanor Adams of Brooklyn. He went to Wilkes-Barre between the years 1787 and 1790, and in 1795 he moved to Braintrim where he lived for ten years, working a small farm for part of the time, and the rest working at his trade—that of a tailor. In 1805 he came to Wyalusing where he lived until 1812 when he went to Standing Stone, where he died June, 1850. About the year 1800 he was appointed justice of the peace, and held the office for several years. In 1811 he was elected to the Legislature of the Commonwealth and served for one term. On the 22d of May, 1818, he was appointed by Gov. Findley, one of the associate judges of Bradford county and went out of office with the change in the State constitution in 1840. He was also for many years deputy and county surveyor, having received the appointment in 1814, and agent for many dealers in lands in this part of the county. In the discharge of these duties he surveyed almost every tract of land within ten or fifteen miles of each side of the river through the whole of this and adjoining counties. The various offices to which he was elected, and the responsible trusts he held are the best evidences of his integrity, good judgment, and ability, which could be mentioned.

Notwithstanding all of the difficulties with which the settlers had to contend, and the perplexing controversies which retarded their prosperity, the township gradually increased in population and a very marked improvement was made in the extent and character of the buildings and cultivation during the period embraced in this chapter. Roads were cut through and made passable, mail facilities were enjoyed, schools and

churches were maintained, and the hardy but enterprising people were gradually increasing in wealth, and in the comforts of life. Numerous saw-mills were built and the lumber cut at them was sent in rafts to the markets below, and by this means money was obtained by which exchanges were facilitated and improvements were carried on, and the people were usually prosperous and happy.

It will be remembered that the county of Luzerne, whose courts were held at Wilkes-Barre, included at this time nearly all of Bradford. The people of this region being so far removed from the county seat, the country sparsely settled, and the roads for much of the time almost impassable, felt themselves well nigh beyond the protection or the restraint of the law. In cases of litigation the decision of the justice was in most instances final, the aggrieved party preferring to suffer, rather than be at the expense and trouble of taking his case to a higher tribunal. In these justices' courts business was often conducted with great irregularity, and many transgressions of the law were suffered to pass unnoticed. In a letter written to H. V. Champin, a justice of Braintrim, by James Sutton, dated Dec. 15, 1809, he expresses the opinion that much of the evil and lawlessness in the community was owing to the failure of the justices to enforce the laws. In view of these difficulties a "meeting of the justices in the northern part of Luzerne was held at the house of Jonathan Stevens, at Wyalusing, Feb. 8, 1810, for the purpose of forming a society, and fixing on certain precedents to govern said society." At this meeting they passed resolutions discountenancing "pettifoging," discouraging lawsuits, &c. Several questions arising out of the procedure in justices' courts were also discussed, and one of the standing rules of the society was that each member of the association should present one "law ques-

tion" for discussion at each meeting. The second meeting was held at the house of Major Gaylord, when a constitution was adopted, and officers were chosen. Among the requirements in this article of its members were "to use every precaution to suppress law suits, and to bring about a reconciliation between the parties—to reprove persons of immoral characters of every description and by all proper means to suppress every species of vice and immorality." The paper is too long for insertion here, but it is instructive to observe the efforts made by the conservators of the peace to promote the best interests of the people. The names signed to the constitution are Henry V. Champin, Josiah Fassett, Issaar Brownson, Guy Wells, Salmon Bosworth, Parley Coburn, William Myer, Geo. Scott, and Eliphalet Mason.

Mr. Champin was elected president, and Geo. Scott, secretary. The third meeting was held at the house of Mr. Myer, and the two next at Wyalusing. After this there were no records of the society, and it is believed the association ceased to exist with the changes that grew out of the organization of the new county, the necessity of which now became apparent to all.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF BRADFORD COUNTY UNTIL THE PRESENT. 1812-1870.

Bradford county was taken from parts of Luzerne and Lycoming, February 21, 1810, and received the name of Ontario; March 24, 1812, the name was changed to Bradford, the county organized and the first courts held in Towanda in the January following. Wyalusing which was one of the ten original townships of the county, included the present townships of Tuscarora, Herrick, Wilmot, Terry, Overton, Asylum, with parts of Albany and Standing Stone. As then constituted the townships contained 71 voters, and the elections held at the house of Major Gaylord, and 127 taxables with a valuation of \$64,194 on personal estate and seated lands and on unseated lands of \$105,273. In 1814 that portion of the township west of the river was constituted into a separate township under the name of Asylum. In 1830 Tuscarora was set off and the township was reduced to its present size (about one twenty-fifth of its original territory) in 1837 by the cutting off of Herrick. In the organization of the county Major Gaylord was one of the first commissioners, Jno. Banister Gibson, president judge, and Charles F. Welles, prothonotary, register, recorder, and clerk of the court. Mr. Welles held this office for six years. Burr Ridgway, the proprietor of the *Bradford Gazette*, the first paper published in the county, was his deputy.

Mr. Welles was born in Glastenbury, Ct., Nov. 5, 1789, and the family were among the early settlers of Athens. In 1816, he married Miss Ellen J., daughter of Judge Hollenback; and removed to Wyalusing in 1822, where he died Sept. 23, 1866.

Mr. Welles was a man of varied and extensive reading, and probably know more of the history of the county, of its resources and men, than any other man of his day. He wielded a busy pen and contributed for the press some of the best poetic articles which were published.* Though never a politician in the sense of aspiring for office, he took a deep interest in political questions. In early life he espoused the principles advocated by Jefferson; later he became an admirer of Henry Clay, and a defender of his policy. During his ten years' residence in Towanda he exerted a well nigh controlling influence in the politics of the county. His articles on political questions, written at this time, were marked by a breadth of view, and urged by a cogency of reasoning that carried conviction to the mind of the reader, while the corrupt politician received scathing rebukes from his trenchant pen.

Judge Hollenback, with characteristic forethought, had invested largely in lands in the county, and on the removal of Mr. Welles to Wyalusing, he found abundant employment in superintending their management, in addition to the business growing out of his own affairs. As a man of business he was punctual, ready, accurate, of unquestioned integrity, possessing a generous heart and a kindly feeling for the distressed. The tenants upon his farm, or the people in his employ, ever found him liberal in his demands and unexact in its requirements. Though engaged in extended and frequently harassing business, his interest in public matters continued unabated; and it is believed that until within the last year of his life, he never missed attendance upon a single term of court held at Towanda.

*A gentleman engaged for many years as an editor of a literary paper, who only now Mr. Welles through his published articles, once observed, "That Charles F. Welles had written some of the finest pieces of fugitive poetry that had ever been produced in this country, in his day."

On the breaking out of the late rebellion his whole heart was enlisted on the side of the government, which he aided in every way in his power, and the hearty God speed with which he bade the company raised in this vicinity, go fight the battles of their country, will ever be remembered by those who witnessed it.

In the latter years of his life he spent much time in reading on subjects of natural history, especially geology, in which he kept fairly abreast, and was thoroughly conversant with the theories of the leading writers in this favorite department of his study.

He was deeply interested in the public enterprises of the place. On the completion of the North Branch canal, a basin was excavated and a commodious warehouse and coal bins were constructed, which, through the facilities for business thus afforded, have been the means of doing more than any other one thing to develop the resources of the surrounding country and make Wyalusing the centre of a large and rapidly increasing trade.

In 1821 under the direction of John Hollenback, the grist mill at the mouth of the creek was built, which from its superior construction and favorable location was of great advantage to the surrounding country.

In 1837, Dr. D. C. Scovill settled in Wyalusing, and was the first permanently located physician. As early as 1795, Dr. Jabez Chamberlin settled at Fairbanks, where he remained for a short time, then went to New York for a while, and afterward returned to Wyalusing where he died. Several physicians were here for a short time, among whom may be mentioned Dr. Sharts, Daniel Scofield, and Dr. Tewksbury. Dr. Heyden who rode through all this section of the country had his share of patients in Wyalusing. After him for sever-

al years the people were dependent mainly on Dr. Crandall and Dr. Horton, the former having lived in Wyalusing several years and then removed to Stevensville, and the latter having settled at Terrytown. Dr. Scovill has for a third of a century sustained a large practice, and still bids fair to endure for many more years the arduous labor which a physician here is compelled to undergo.

In 1818, Elizur Price, son of Zachariah Price one of the first members of the old church, organized a sabbath school in Wyalusing. It had been customary for the minister to gather the members of the congregation on the sabbath, between the services, for the study of the scriptures and for the discussion of difficult questions in theology; but the enterprise of Mr. Price was the first attempt to organize a sabbath school on a plan analogous to the present methods, which has become so prevalent in all religious societies. The school then commenced, has continued with but few interruptions, until the present time, when there are at least five such schools in the township.

In 1854 a charter was granted for the formation of the society of the 2nd Presbyterian church at Wyalusing. The present building was commenced soon after, and completed the following year at a cost of about \$4000. As early as 1792 itinerants of the Methodist church had visited the settlement, held meetings and considerable religious interest had been awakened, but it soon abated and was not reviewed until some years after.

The following sketch, furnished by Rev. J. B. Sumner, late pastor of Methodist church at Wyalusing, gives the history of this denomination in the valley. In 1788 a Methodist class was formed at Ross Hill, near Kingston, by a pious blacksmith named Anning Owen. This was the beginning of Methodism in this section of the country. Three years after they were

recognized by Conference, and Nathaniel B. Mills was sent as their first preacher. In 1793, Tioga circuit was formed, extending from Wyalusing to Chemung, with Wm. Colbert as preacher in charge. Wyalusing continued to form a part of Tioga circuit until 1814, when the Wyalusing circuit was organized. This circuit embraced Owego, Nichols, Barton, Waverly, Factoryville, Athens, Litchfield, Apolachan, Rome, Windham, Orwell, Skinner's Eddy, and Wyalusing. The following is a list of the preachers on this charge for the first ten years: 1814, Rinaldo M. Evarts; 1815, Elisha Bibbins; 1816-17, John Griffing; 1818, Elijah King; 1819, Elisha Bibbins; 1820, E. Doolittle and H. G. Warner; 1821, Asa Cummins and John Sayer; 1822-23, John Griffing and James Hodge; 1824, John Griffing, Caleb Kendall, and Philo Barbary.

Wyalusing and Spencer circuits were this year united and employed three men. During the next fifteen years the circuit was divided, trimmed up, and lopped off, until its identity was lost, leaving not even so much as its name, and for several years seems to have been abandoned by the Methodists. In 1840 we find Wyalusing included in the Skinner's Eddy charge, but without regular preaching until the winter of 1842-3. H. Brownscombe reorganized the class and it was entered upon the records as "Browntown and Wyalusing classes." It consisted of twenty-nine members, eleven of whom resided at Wyalusing, and four of the eleven were soon transferred to Asylum. In 1854 the class consisted of eight members, in 1861 of thirteen, in 1867 of thirty-five, and in 1870 of fifty-six.

In 1854 a modest appearing brick edifice 34x50 without a steeple, was erected for the use of the congregation at a cost of \$1800. It was dedicated by Geo. Peck, D.D. in Septem-

ber of the same year. Services are conducted at the church every Sunday morning, and the class was never more numerous than it is now. The following is the list of Presiding Elders since 1805 when Wyalusing was embraced in Tioga circuit, Susquehanna district: 1805-8, Auning Owen. 1808-9, James Herron. 1809-12, Gideon Draper. 1812-15, George Harmon. 1815-19, Marmaduke Pierce. (Wyalusing circuit formed in 1814). 1819-23, Geo. Law. 1823-4, Fitch Reed. 1824-7, Geo. Peck. 1827-34, Horace Agard. During the next six years I am unable to give the names of the Presiding Elders—Wyalusing seems to have belonged nowhere. 1840-6 David Holmes, Jr., (Wyalusing and Skinner's Eddy charge). 1846-50, Wm. Reddy. 1860-4, D. A. Shepard. (Wyalusing circuit reorganized in 1851.) 1854-5, Geo. Peck. 1855-9, Geo. Landon. (Wyalusing district formed in 1855.) 1859-63, G. H. Blakesley. 1863-4, T. H. Brownscombe. 1867 to the present, DeWitt C. Olmstead. Since 1842 Wyalusing has been regularly served by the following preachers: H. Brownscombe, P. G. White, C. E. Taylor and J. W. Davison, C. E. Taylor and J. D. Safford, E. Owen and J. B. Cooper, E. B. Tenny, George Landon, F. S. Chubbuck, Thomas Wilcox, George Landon, Geo. W. Jackson, O. F. Morse, L. Peck; (2 years), S. F. Brown, Edgar Libby, J. C. Barnes, George Landon and J. C. Barnes, J. D. Warren, I. P. Towner, (2 years), S. F. Brown, (3 years), A. F. Harding, A. J. Arnold, (2 years) P. R. Tower and J. B. Sumner, P. R. Tower and G. Chamberlain, the present preachers. On the charge there are at this time the stations at Wyalusing, Spring Hill, Camptown and Herrick. In addition to these and the two Presbyterian churches, there is also regular service at Camptown, by Rev. Wm. Heaton, of the Protestant Episcopal church, where a respectable congregation has been gathered.

In 1857 the North Branch Canal having been completed, business became much more active all through this valley. Before this the nearest points to the great thoroughfares, were either Montrose station, on the D. L. & W. R. R., Waverly, on the E. R., or Canton and Troy, on the E. & W. R. R.—the distance to either of these points being about 40 miles. When the river was free from ice, large quantities of lumber in rafts; hay, grain, potatoes and other agricultural produce in boats, were sent to the markets below, while salt, lime and plaster were brought down from the north. This means of transportation, though cheap, was attended with considerable risk, and often was available only when the markets were unfavorable to the producer; and then products could be brought up the river only at great expense. The canal afforded a cheap and safe means of transportation for about seven or eight months in the year, and with its connections largely extended the market for the producer. The good effects of this were at once seen in the healthy stimulus given to trade, and in the rapid developement of the country; the price of exports was increased, and that of imports diminished. From this time trade began rapidly to center at Wyalusing, and all branches of industry were carried on with profit.

The people of Wyalusing have always given much attention to the subject of education. With the growth of the country there has been a growing interest in this important subject. Instead of the one school that was taught by Uriah Terry in the little log school-house, there are now twelve schools in the township, with comfortable buildings, in which schools are maintained for six months in the year, at an expense of more than \$1600, and where seven hundred pupils receive instruction in the common English branches. In addition to these Rev. S. F. Colt, while pastor of the Maryall

Church, opened a large private school in his own house, which was continued for many years under very favorable circumstances. Previous to the erection of the Susquehanna Collegiate Institute, Wyalusing was a very formidable rival of Towanda for the location of the school; in fact the site was selected, a well was dug, brick were burned, and money subscribed for the erection of the building. But on the advice of some prominent friends of education, the subscribers generously allowed the Institute to be transferred to Towanda, which being the county seat and more accessible, was thought to afford peculiar advantages of location for such an institution. For several years after there were none but the public schools in the township. Although these were of higher grade than such schools ordinarily are, they did not meet the wants of the community, and the subject of better advantages for education was frequently discussed in different parts of the township.

November 8, 1859, the Academy Association at Wyalusing was incorporated, and the building was commenced which was completed in 1860 at a cost of more than \$3000, and Miss L. A. Chamberlain opened the school there the same year. It is a fine building, two stories in height, surmounted by a cupola, containing on the first floor two large school rooms, one of which is used for the public school and the other neatly fitted up with the Boston school furniture for the academy proper. The upper story is a large room comfortably seated and used for the present as a public hall. About the same time another building was erected at Camptown, a pleasant villiage five miles up the Wyalusing, and within the township, for the same purpose, though of smaller dimensions, consisting of two rooms, one in each story, the lower one being used for the academy and the upper one for a hall, at present

occupied by the Good Templars and Odd Fellows. The school was opened by Mr. A. A. Kinney, the present County Superintendent of common schools. In both of these buildings schools have been maintained in which, in addition to the common English branches, higher mathematics, classics, and normal departments have been opened and successfully taught.

At the breaking out of the rebellion the people of Wyalusing were not unmindful of their duty to the government, but contributed largely in men and money for its defence. To every call for volunteers, either for the State or national service, she nobly responded, and her sons did gallant service in the field of conflict.* Their services deserve and will receive a more extended account than can here be given.

In 1869 the extension of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, connecting Pittston with Waverly, was completed and the first train of cars passed over the line on the 9th of September. On the 13th of the same month the trains commenced making their regular trips. The effect of this increased facility for travel and transportation was at once visible in the increase of business which gathered here, and now bids fair to make Wyalusing one of the most important stations on the road.

The reunion of the two great branches of the Presbyterian church in the United States which was consummated in 1869, was succeeded by a complete reorganization of the Synods and Presbyteries under its jurisdiction. The churches of Wyalusing under this reconstruction, were embraced by the Presbytery of Lackawanna. This body held its first stated meeting at Wyalusing, September 20, 1870, and was one of the most important gatherings ever assembled here. It seemed appropriate that the first meeting of the new Pres-

* See Appendix.

bytery should be held on the very spot where the first Presbyterian church was organized within its bounds, and that its reunion should be celebrated on the place consecrated by such holy memories.

Wyalusing, as at present constituted, lies on the east side of the Susquehanna, and on both sides of the Wyalusing creek, up which it extends about eight miles, while its river border is about twelve miles; the whole township embracing about twenty-three square miles with a population of 1693 souls. At the last election (October, 1870,) the whole number of votes cast was 377, and at the presidential election in 1868 the number was 346. Its politics have always been predominantly Republican since 1856. In 1870 the number of taxables was 440, and the valuation of personal property \$37,590, of real estate \$200,698, making a total of \$238,288, so that in the last seventy years the number of taxables has increased eleven fold, and the valuation thirty fold.

There are at present in the township two villages; one, Wyalusing, at the mouth of the creek, the other, Camptown, five miles above; three churches, two academies, and eight stores. Although an agricultural community, yet the various mechanical arts are well represented and the township is rapidly increasing in wealth and population.

The preparation of the foregoing pages, though made in the midst of other and pressing duties, has been to the author a labor of love, and it is with no little hesitation that they are submitted to the public. The first attempt at preparing a local history is always made under peculiar disadvantages.

The writer has sought for facts, and has compressed in this paper the results of several years investigation, and of research wherever he has had reason to think valuable material could be found. He hopes it may be the means of correcting inaccuracies, if he has made them, and of bringing to light important documents, if any exist, which have been overlooked. The history of any locality is the history of the men who have lived in it, and this has made it necessary to introduce several biographical sketches, which have been taken either from family records or other authentic sources.

It is but fair to say that the idea of writing a history of the township was a recent one. The discourse had been prepared, and was nearly printed when it was thought best to put the paper in its present form. The work of printing was therefore for a time suspended, new investigations were undertaken, the whole plan of the work was recast, and the result is before the reader. In consequence of this some repetition was necessary, and at the same time in a few places the biographical sketches have been broken up into fragments. No one can be more sensible of these defects than the author, but with all these he hopes his efforts will be the means of preserving important facts which otherwise would have been lost, and provoking some abler pen to tell the story in the way which it deserves.

While the work has been going through the press one or two mistakes have been discovered :

The name of Mr. Benjamin of whom Major Gaylord bought a part of his property was *Richard* instead of *Judah* as was there given—he and Mr. Akly were sons-in-law of Mr. Bennet and went with him to Durell creek, where their descendents now live. The story that is told of an old Indian

woman informing Mrs. Brown that there would be trouble in the valley, should have been Mrs. Wigton, who at that time lived near Tunkhannock. The information was gathered from a grandson of both Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Wigton, which led to the confusion.

APPENDIX.

In am indebted to the Rev. W. C. Reichel, of Bethlehem, Pa., a gentleman versed in the Delaware names for the following :

Wyalusing is written variously in the old records, thus : Machachlosung, Quihaloosing, Mockocklocking, Monmuchlooson, Machmihilusing, abbreviated into Ch'wihilusing, and then into Wihilusing. The last three are doubtless correct, and the changes natural. I propose the the following analysis for Mach-wi-hi-lu-sing :

Macheu signifies *large*—see Zeisbergers vocables^{*} as corrected in his spelling book. *Mi-hi-lu-sis*, an *old man*, (*ibid*) *ing* or *ink*, the suffix of locality, i. e., *the place of*. *Macheu-mihilusing*, shortened and softened into *Machwihilusing*, the place or residence of the large old man—the home of the great patriarch.

The earliest hint that I can find of Wyalusing[†] in the journals of white travelers is that of C. Wisser on his trip to and from Onondaga, in 1737. April 24—passed to-day Onon-to (Owego) down to Diaogo (Tioga). April 25—Embarked early, got a companion, a relative of Shikellimy, but who was of little use, except to help to eat. We passed the spot where we first rested after leaving the desolate wilderness,* the mouth of Oshcalui † (Sugar creek) and Dawantaa (Towanda).

* I. e. on the up trip, via the Lysoming, thence across Beaver Dam into the Towanda, which Weisser says signifies "the fretful."

† Signifies "the fierce."

Shot several ducks and wild turkeys. Passed several fine bodies of land, partly level, partly timbered. * April 26—Reached Skehandowana (Wyoming). Here there is a large body of land, the like of which is not to be found on the river.

The next reference is by Christian Frederick Post, the first Moravian at Papunhank's town at Wyalusing. He and John Hays (a young Scotch Irishman, from the settlement in Allen township, Northampton county,) were deputed by the Government in May, 1760, to accompany Teedyuscung, King of the Delawares, to the great Indian council to be held by the Western Indians over the Ohio. Having been denied a passage through the Seneca country, they turned back and reached Bethlehem June 30. The following are extracts from his journal : §

DEAR SIR:—It gives me great pleasure to inform your Honor that we arrived at Mockocklooking, an Indian town newly laid out, where there is a company together, all of the Minisink (Monsey) Indians, a sort of religious people. It is about eight years (1752) that they originated, and Papounhang is the originator of the company and their preacher. They want to see the Friends (Quakers) chiefly. * * As this people is a religious people, they desired to me to hold them a meeting. This I did with great blessing, speaking on the *Announcement of the Saviour's Birth by the Angels*, May 20, 1760. * * * The Indians said to me "Brother, I am greatly pleased to hear of that good peace, that it is well established. I heartily share in it, and like to live in peace. Hearken, brother ! I pray you to have pity on us, and let us have no strong drinks at all. This we all who live at Mach-

* Probably Wyalusing flats.

§ Pennsylvania Archives, III, p. 742.

achlosung pray of you; and if any of our young men should come down, ask them where they come from, and if they say they come from Machachlosung, I pray you to give them not a drop of liquor at all."

Extract from John Hay's journal.† May 19, 1760—Set off early though wet, and arrived at a town called Quihaloosing; the Governor's name is Wampoonham, (Papunhank) a very religious civilized man in his own way, and showed us a great deal of kindness. Held a conference with him this evening, and when over, Mr. Post gave them a sermon at their request.

May 20—They called us to council and seemed to be very friendly. * * * This town is situated on the Susquehanna, east side, about twenty houses full of people, very good land, and good Indian buildings, all new. Had sermon this evening again.

May 21—Set off about 11 o'clock (i. e. north) and crossed the Quihaloosing creek about a mile above the town.

July 7, 1760—"Some twenty Indians from the Susquehanna passed through Bethlehem, on the way to Philadelphia, to a conference which opened July 11. Among these was Papunhank. Most of these are known to us, and some five or six years ago (1754) had heard us preach the gospel on the Susquehanna. We met them in the small chapel. They bought three captive children. BETHLEHEM DIARY

"Gov. Hamilton met twenty-four Monsey Indians, two Nanticokes and three Delawares from an Indian town called *Michalloosen* or *Wighalooscon*, about fifty or sixty miles above *Wiomink* on the Susquehanna in conference at Philadelphia, July 11, 1760. The speakers of the Monsey's were

† Pennsylvania Archives, III. p. 735.

Papunhank and Toan-kakanan. Job Chillaway, a Delaware, interpreted for Papunhank. On this occasion Papunhank stated that at his town white persons and also horses had been collected during the late war (1755-1760), that he had at Post's request, given up the three persons there, viz: two girls, a boy, and all the horses stolen from the frontiers.

July 18, 1760, "Papunhank and his Indians returned from Philadelphia. July 21 Bishop Spangenberg had an interview with Papunhank. July 23 Papunhank and his followers left for his town, *Quichloosink*, on the Susquehanna."

BETHLEHEM DIARY.

From the extracts it appears that Papunhank was the founder of the town known to the Moravians, which was a sort of religious community; that Post preached the first sermon among them and was the means of their becoming acquainted with the Brethren—and that it was predominantly a Monsey town.

Also, from the Bethlehem diary we learn that on the breaking out of the Pontiac conspiracy, twenty-one of these Indians under the lead of Papunhank, determined to have nothing to do with the war, and availed themselves of the shelter of government barracks at Philadelphia, and the next year Papunhank, in company with three other christian Indians, came back to Wyalusing to select a place for a christian town, to which the remnant left in Philadelphia, came in April, 1765, after a tedious journey of five weeks and one day.

June 11, 1766—Our Indians on the Susquehanna have changed the place of their abode, removing a short distance above Wihilusing—erected two rows of dwellings, in the centre is the meeting house." From Heckewelders narrative we learn this meeting house was surmounted by a cupola and bell (p. 97), that the white surveyors were laying out farms

here previous to the abandonment of the mission (p. 107). Also a Mohichan Indian named Joshua, with the aid of the brethren, made a *spinnet* which was used in the worship of the new church, the first instrument of the kind in the country (p. 418).

Rev. (afterward Bishop) Christian Gregor and Loretz were commissioned by the General Synod of the Moravian church to visit their missions in America. He reached Friedenshutzen on this tour of visitation early in the summer of 1771 and gave a representation of his journey and of the mission in a playfull poem written in German to his daughter, and which he intended should reach her on her birthday. This poem which has never yet been published, is written in such peculiar measure as to make a poetical translation unusually difficult. The following prose rendering of some of the stanzas may not be uninteresting. After mentioning several places he says: "Besides these there are other regions in which we have churches—one of these lies on the Susquehanna where it bristles with mountains, and to reach which the traveller must needs have bold feet. Here he partakes of Indian manna,* which himself must stamp in a mortar. This is Friedenshutzen, situate in heathen lands. It was with difficulty that we journeyed thence on invitation, for the road was hard to travel, alternately up and down and often dangerous on account of the watercourses. Despite this, Loretz and I resolved last May to go thither. We gladly accepted of Nathaniel Seidel and four Indians (who were sent down thence) as guides. One hundred and seventy miles we had need to travel, and the road led over many a steep mountain, often scarce passable, rough, swampy, narrow, dark and gloomy too through the forest. It was a world of mountains,

* Maize.

in which tall hills were but as warp beside taller ones. Primeval wildernesses and plains never as yet dwelt in by man.

* * * On reaching the Susquehanna we embarked in canoes, and keeping to the middle of the river, saw Friedenhutten before us on the fifth day. I shall never forget the looks of joy—of festive joy—depicted on the countenances of those converted heathen, as they stood and ran up the bank (young and old, large and small) to welcome us in sweet unison. All work was laid aside to prolong this joyous meeting, and for five, even six days too, during our sojourn. Surely these once heathen are now the subjects of divine grace. We assisted to minister to them daily in the services of the sanctuary. We also celebrated the Lord's supper with them. I greeted them for Herrnhut, for Bethlehem and for myself. They are a dear people—some of them persons of distinction—a wide awake and sagacious race of brown men. The Lord has set some of them apart as he did men in the Apostolic times. Our hearts and our lips often overflowed with gratitude at witnessing such tokens of divine grace. On Whit-Sunday there was a baptism of five adults in which we took part. The last day of our sojourn I baptised also a little child as it lay in swadling clothes, her I named Johanna and commended her to the keeping of her crucified Master. Hereupon we set out on our return to Bethlehem, with hearts grateful for all we have here seen and experienced."

In the narrative of Zuriel Sherwood, published in the *Wyoming Democrat*, it is stated that Messrs. Morris and Nicholson, directors of the Asylum land company, cut through a bridle path from the Lackawanna over the mountains to Wyalusing. This is probably the shorter road referred to by Jonas Ingham. In that same paper is a description of the little corn mills which were first built through the country.

They were located upon little streams which for most part of the time now are nearly dry ; had one run of stone but little larger than a half bushel. These stones were quarried from the conglomerate rock along the Lackawanna. The mills were so arranged that when the stream was low they could be turned by hand, and could crack into samp and meal from one and a half to three bushels of corn per day. Mr. Sherwood says that in 1789 nearly all the corn used in the neighborhood of Tunkhannock was brought from Wyalusing, thus showing that Wyalusing was in a flourishing condition when the settlements were made between it and Wyoming.

The following are the most important errata :

Page 15, line 4 from top, for Mrs. J. read Mrs. G.

- " 18, last line, for 2nd read 3d.
- " 20, line 10 from bottom, after "amount" read which.
- " 33, line 15 from top, for 1816 read 1819.
- " 34, line 2 from bottom, for by read of.
- " 35, line 16 from top, for Pennelia read Permelia.
- " 47, line 13 from top, for mady read made.
- " 52, line 6 from top, for crafts read rafts.
- " 55, line 15 from top, for son of read afterward.
- " 62, the first two lines are transposed.
- " 73, line 3 from top, for 1789 read 1786.
- " 75, line 8 from top, for has read have.
- " 90, line 14 from top, for come read came.
- " 92, line 16 from top, after *used* insert and.
- " 93, line 15 from bottom, for were read was.
- " 98, line 1 from top, "failure of the" to be erased.
- " 103, line 5 from bottom, for *not* read *rot*.
- " " line 9 from bottom, for gleam read glean.
- " 115, last line, for Maryall read Merryall.
- " 121, line 6 from top, for Machmihilusing read Machwihilusing.
- " 126, line 1 for warp read dwarfs.
- " " line 7, for *and ran up* read *drawn up on*.

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taken from the Building**

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